DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 141 423 UD 016 899

AUTHOR	Dodson, Jualynne; And Others
TITLE	Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Atlanta Univ., Ga. School of Social Work.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Child Development (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	31 May 75
GRANT	OCD-CB-422(C2)
NOTE	161p.; Not available in hard copy due to the marginal legibility of the original document
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Behavior Patterns; *Black Culture; Blacks; Black Studies; Child Care Workers; *Child Welfare; Cross Cultural Training; *Cultural Awareness; Dance; Elementary Secondary Education; Evaluation Methods; Food; Grade 4; Grade 10; *Language Patterns; Language Styles; *Music; Religious Factors; Social Values; Socioeconomic Status
IDENTIFIERS	*Georgia (Atlanta); Multicultural Education

ABSTRACT

This three year exploratory research study investigated the cultural behaviors of Afro-Americans. Results of the study include: 1) A set of historical data on the continuous existence of cultural behaviors by Afro-Americans in the areas of music, language, food and dance. 2) A set of empirical data which explores contemporary expressions of Afro-American culture among 180 black boys and girls living in the Atlanta, Georgia area. 3) A research instrument which initiates the process of identifying normative expressive behavior for Afro-American sub-culture. 4) A position paper which begins the theoretical exploration for a more valid index of socio-economic influence upon Afro-American behavior. 5) A set of evaluative data on the presence of multi-cultural perspective in 25 selected child welfare programs in the state of Georgia. 6) An evaluative instrument which can begin the process of assessing culturally plural programmatic content in child welfare agencies. 7) Eighty (80) formal dissemination contacts with groups and individuals in the state of Georgia and other areas of the U.S. Among the substantive results of the study were an indication that an Afro-American culture based on the culture of West African peoples was identified in the cultural expressions of black students. Also the evaluation of the child welfare programs indicated a failure by Georgia's child-oriented programs to consciously address Afro-American culture in their delivery of services. Numerous tables, an extended bibliography, questionnaires and interviews and evaluations developed for this study are included. (Author/JP)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

ED141423

BLACK STYLIZATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILD WELFARE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Final Report

Prepared for

OFFICE OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT
Under Grant No. OCD-CB-422(C2)

by

Jualynne Dodson, Director
Susan Ross, Associate
Judy Barton Smith, Associate

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
Atlanta, Georgia

May 1975

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

UD016899

'AIN'T NO ME WITHOUT YOU'

It is impossible to think this project or this report could have been completed without continued input from two very important persons. Susan Ross and Judy Barton Smith have my most affectionate gratitude and thanks.

The School of Social Work administration has provided the institutional assistance any research project must have. Dean Genevieve Hill and Special Projects Coordinator Joseph Murphy were outstanding in their encouraging support.

It is hoped that the student research assistants who helped us gather the data for Black Stylization benefited in both experience and knowledge. Without them I know our work would not have come to closure. In addition I acknowledge the supportive assistance of the Regional Office of Child Development.

My sincerest appreciation goes to the children and parents who allowed us to come into their lives--ain't no me without you!

Jualynne Dodson
Project Director

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

INTRODUCTORY SUMMARY

For the past three years, the Atlanta University School of Social Work has conducted a research project entitled "Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare." The sum results for this three year period of exploratory investigation are:

1) A set of historical data on the continuous existence of cultural behaviors by Afro-Americans in the areas of music, language, food and dance.

2) A set of empirical data which explores contemporary expressions of Afro-American culture among 180 black boys and girls living in the Atlanta, Georgia area.

3) A research instrument which initiates the process of identifying normative expressive behavior for Afro-American sub-culture.

4) A position paper which begins the theoretical exploration for a more valid index of socio-economic influence upon Afro-American behavior.

5) A set of evaluative data on the presence of multi-cultural perspective in 25 selected child welfare programs in the state of Georgia.

6) An evaluative instrument which can begin the process of assessing culturally plural programmatic content in child welfare agencies.

7) Eighty (80) formal dissemination contacts with groups and individuals in the state of Georgia and other areas of the U.S.

No investigative endeavor is without problems and/or failures; Black Stylization is no exception. The following is a listing of our negative results:

1) No historical data on Afro-American cultural behaviors in the modes of religion, fashion, and art.

2) No refined computer tabulations for Year II data nor a comparison of data from Years I and II.

3) An ineffective evaluative instrument for measuring Afro-centric or multi-cultural content within institutional or organizational programming of Child Welfare in Georgia.

With respect to a listing of publications which have emanated from this project, no such documents have developed yet.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PREFACE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS

Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare was a three year research project funded by the Office of Child Development to achieve two primary goals. Firstly, we were to empirically identify contemporary behavioral expressions of black children which could be components of Afro-American culture. Secondly, we were to discern for the field of child welfare the implications of our empirical explorations. To the task of making a final report of our exploratory investigation we divide this document into the following sections:

I. Theoretical Guides
  A. Culture
  B. Stratification

II. Methodology
  A. Study Design
  B. Sample Selection
  C. Data Collection Techniques
  D. Statistical Analysis

III. Analyses - Year II

IV. Child Welfare Programs
  A. Perspective and Purpose of Research
  B. Methodology
  C. Data Analyzed

V. Implications

VI. Black Stylization Disseminated

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Title	Page #
Table II.1	School Selection	II.7
Table II.2	Sex and Economic Classfication of Respondents	II.8
Table II.3	Racial Classification School Attended by Economic Class of Respondents	II.8
Table II.4	Multi-Variant Data Collection Techniques	II.13
Table III.1	Family Organization	III.2
Table III.2	Religious Denominations by Cultural Centrality	III.3
Table III.3	Cultural Centrality of Parents' and Children's Denominations	III.3-4
Table III.4	Cultural Centrality of Aggregated Foodstuffs and Cooking Methods	III.5
Table III.5	Cultural Centrality Distribution of Food Categories	III.6
Table III.6	Cultural Centrality Listing of Meats and Cooking Methods	III.7
Table III.7	Cooking Methods of Chicken and Beef Steak	III.7
Table III.8	Cultural Centrality Listing of Salads, Spices, Vegetables, and Bread	III.9
Table III.9	Cultural Centrality Distribution for Salads, Spices, Vegetables, and Bread by Class	III.9
Table III.10	Cultural Centrality Distribution For Musical Types and Groups	III.11
Table III.11	Cultural Centrality Distribution by Class for Collasped Musical Responses, Musical Groups and Musical Types	III.12

LIST OF TABLES(Continued)

Table IV.1 Pre-School Programs Distribution IV.4

Table IV.2 Racial Composition of Pre-School Programs IV.6

Table IV.3 Criteria for Participation in Young/Pre-School Children's Programs IV.7

Table IV.4 Racial Composition of Residential Programs IV.9

Table VI.1 Conference/Seminar Presentations VI.1

Table VI.2 Curriculum Dissemination VI.4

Table VI.3 Documents Disseminated VI.6

THEORETICAL GUIDES

The social, political and economic history of black people in the United States is one filled with rampant examples of systematic efforts to eliminate both physical and cultural existence. Black people have been chained, dragged, beaten, boiled, raped and killed by America's Anglo-Saxon majority since their first steps on American soil. Such acts have been perpetrated both by individual white citizens and by the institutions created within America. Perhaps the most overt of the efforts at institutional anihilation of black people has been directed towards the cultural components of our existences.

Culture:

The American slave experience was not only characterized by the de-tribalization of a cultrually intact black people, but by structural barriers erected to insure that African offspring never acquired full cultural manifestations associated with membership in American society. Paradoxically, with the ending of slavery, when tribal lines and wholistic African ancestoral knowledge had been seriously interrupted, the prevailing societal attitude was that 'to the degree "good negroes" had any culture at all was to the degree they had adopted the culture of America's Anglo-Saxon majority.' To explain black peoples' expressive variations on the Anglo-Saxon cultural theme, institutional America professed the inferiority of the black race. For years serious thought and research activities were predominately guided by the assumption that the only cultural integrity that the 'inferior' black peoples possessed was the adopted American experience. Then appeared the influential Melville Herskovits and his studies of African continuities among black people in the western hemisphere. Works like Life in a Haitian Valley (1937), Trinidad Village (1943), The Myth of the Negro Past (1941), and The New World Negro (1966) raised serious questions for the American ideology of a cultureless Afro-American. Herskovits and his work so seriously challenged the assumption of historical rootlessness regarding black families that E. Franklin Frazier took an entire volume to discuss the American origins of the black family (1948).

Using Frazier's thinking on the American origins of family patterns and hypothesizing a 'deficit' nature in those patterns, Daniel P. Moynihan (1969) declared that the culture of black people was causally responsible for the family deficit. This conceptualization of black culture as pathological and deficit producing has had profound effects on the research, planning and policy implementation with regards to black people. Conceptual paradigms, analytical models, program structures and evaluative designs which assume black family deficiency have proliferated the American research scene. As Thomas Hall so accurately captured the field:

> ...basically there are only two research models when it comes to studying black Americans. One of these models concentrates on pathology, and the other concentrates on inferiority. (1970:66)

If nothing more than in response to the blatant error of deficit models, a body of literature has developed which grounds the integrity of Afro-American culture and conceptualizes the black family in the continuity of that cultural framework. The integrity of Afro-American culture, and its family patterns, begins with African origins and continues with an adaptation for environmental conditions. In investigating black peoples' American slave experience--the proposed origins of a pathological culture producing deficient, disorganized and unstable family patterns--John Blasingame (1972) is very clear that slaves were quite effective in adapting to oppressive conditions in order to sustain family life relationships. The slave family was able to socialize its own to a degree and was a source of support and affection to its members (Blasingame, 1972: 87-103). The institutional or family form was prevented from conforming to either ancestoral African models or local American ones however, "...this does not mean that the institution was unable to perform many of the traditional functions of the family" (Blasingame, 1972: 79).

Eugene Genovese, noted scholar of American slavery, also supports the existence of a cogent unit of black family relations during the slave experience. Indeed, he is clear that black people took from the slave period, into Reconstruction, a stable family base. As he says in his chapter entitled "The Myth of The Absent Family":

> ...the slave created impressive norms of family life, including as much of a nuclear family norm as conditions permitted, and that they entered the postwar social system with a remarkably stable base. Many families became indifferent or demoralized, but those with a strong desire for family...were able to set norms for life in freedom that could serve their own interests and function reasonably well within the wider social system of white-dominated America. (1974:451-2)

Andrew Billingsley (1968), though prior to either of these historical pieces, used an assumption of family strength derived from both African and slave experiences to launch his major discussion of *Black Families in White America*. It was Billingsley's work, perhaps more than any other, which began the significant upsurge of challenge to the 'deficit/pathology models' for black family patterns. Joyce Ladner (1971) assumed a position of historical continuity between the contemporary black family and those that were its heritage. Robert Staples (1971), in somewhat less convincing fashion, also proposed black family patterns in appreciation of historical patterns of strength to survive.

Using these materials, and many more, our project assumed a theoretical position which hypothesized the creation and maintenance of culturally expressive behaviors by black Americans. We further hypothesized that contemporary expressive behaviors of black children would contain elements whose cultural content could be identified as part of the Afro-American cultural experience. In order to approach the verification of these hypotheses we identified seven behavioral modes in which the cultural content of any people could be located. Our intent was to elicit black children's expressions in these behavioral modes, and locate those expressions on an Afro-American cultural continuum, a continuum which our historical research had produced. The behavioral modes are music, art, fashion, language, dance, religion, and food.

As we delved into developing an instrument which measured Afro-cultural expression in each mode, it became impossible to factor all modes. Art, fashion and to a lesser degree, dance, proved to be areas in which the continuity of Afro-centric statements was so diffuse and nebulous, we found ourselves unable to identify specific cultural content. For the other modes our historical research produced a continuum of Afro, Afro-adapted, and non-Afro for capturing and classifying expressive behaviors. It is important to note that all contemporary cultural expressions of black Americans are fundamentally Afro-American. That is to say, few, if any, of the behaviors exhibited today among Afro-Americans are exactly the same as those exhibited on the sixteenth century West African coast. Cultures evolve and adapt when coming into contact with other cultures, and the Afro-American is no different. However, within the range of contemporary Afro-American behavior, one can recognize a continuum based upon the exhibition of a greater or lesser degree of African-American retentions/adaptation.

Afro expressions, in any mode, were those which could easily be associated with patterns or techniques of expressions employed by black people in the U.S. throughout their history and which could also be associated with similar if not the same patterns and/or techniques of West African cultural expression during the slave trade period. An example of an 'Afro' language pattern would be subject reiteration: "Sue, she live here".

Afro-adapted expressions were those whose origins were lodged in a West African expression but which had taken on new and overt change from the American experience. In the mode of food, preference for starch-based foodstuffs would be an Afro-adapted expression.

Non-Afro expressions were those whose origins were not part of a

West African heritage and/or could not be associated with the adaptive expressive patterns or techniques employed by black Americans throughout their history in the U.S. A black American Unitarian minister would be an example of a non-Afro expression in the mode of religion.

Employing these definitions and their continuum, calling into use the expressive modes of behavior, and gaining direction from the theoretical hypotheses, we constructed our research design, developed our instrument, and collected our data (see section on Methodology).

Stratification:

Of considerable import to our normative exploration was to predict variations in the expression of Afro-American cultural behavior. This obviously led us to the question of social stratification in the United States. For some time the social sciences have held that socio-economic status (SES) is a highly correlated marker variable for identifying the outer ranges of behavioral outcomes. A simple review of U.S. census data, however, confronts one with the reality that black American does not conform to normal SES predictions: We are America's persistent 'standard deviation'!! Although Black Stylization felt that many of the SES components, disaggregated, were useful independent variables to cultural behavioral outcomes, we were very dissatisfied with the aggregate use of SES in analyses. Our contention was that commonly used SES in analyses did not conceptualize the American stratification system as it most influenced the cultural behavior of black people. We therefore initiated a search for a conceptual tool which more accurately reflected the reality of social position for black America.

The history of stratification studies in the U.S. has seen theorists (Parks 1950 ; Warner 1960 ; Glazer 1963; Davis 1941) proclaim that black people comprised a separate American caste which was perpetuated by formal and informal arrangements of racial segregation. With the dissolution of legal sanctions for separate facilities(Brown vs Board of Education 1954; and Civil Rights Movements of the 1960's) social scientists began to assume that the caste quality of black people's social position had altered. The prediction was, because we no longer were restrained by legal barriers, our equitable participation in those indicators of SES would produce a corresponding participation in SES predictions. However, the missing legal sanctions for segregation did not alter black peoples' basic relationship to U.S. power and authority nor to positions thereof. Any increased acquisition of SES indicators by black America was nullified by a continued negative relationship to power and authority. Black Stylization contended that the effective result is that SES, the analytical tool, had to be reconceptualized as a predictor of behavioral outcomes for black Americans.

In attempting to find a suitable analytical frame of reference for stratifying our research population, Black Stylization assumed a posture more in tune with conflict theorists (Coser 1956) than with assimilationists mentioned earlier. We shared Dahrendorf's perspective on the division of society being based upon individual and group relation to power and authority. As he saw the relatedness of the two forces:

> The important difference between power and authority consists in the fact that whereas power is essentially tied to the personality of individuals, authority is always associated with social positions or roles...while power is merely a factual relation, authority is a legitimate relation of domination and subjection. In this sense, authority can be described as legitimate power (1959:166).

Taking the question of black peoples' relation to both the distribution of American resources and the power and authority of the nation, we conducted a survey of the 1960 and 1970 census data.(U.S. Bureau of Census 1973). This clearly demonstrated the black population disproportionately in receipt of fewer qualitative goods and services. At the same time, Afro-Americans predominate the service-oriented,production, and welfare components of this country's economic system. Our conclusion was that positions of power and authority as well as the distribution of goods and services continue to reflect a racial bias against America's black citizenry. The following diagram gives a picture of our conceptual understanding of this socio-economic positioning.

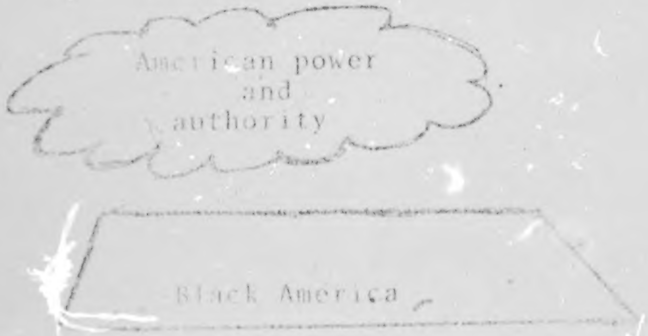


Diagram 1.1

From this diagram, and much a part of the conceptualizations our project saw the overall position of black people within American society as subordinate to the structures, groups and individuals of U.S. power and authority. Though very much a part of the American statement, in economics, culture, politics, services, etc., the Black population held no significant power or authority to predetermine major outcomes in these areas. Moving to the relationship between social position and behavioral outcomes Black Stylization generated a set of preliminary hypotheses regarding the Afro-American cultural behaviors of black America:

> 1) Because there is not and never has been the prerequisite conditions for black assimilation, the entire black population should manifest expressive behaviors continuous with Afro-American culture.
>
> 2) Variation in the amount or degree of Afro-American cultural expressions would be marked by the degree to which blacks are in the upper ranges of their overall social position...*more* closely associated to power relationships in non-black America.

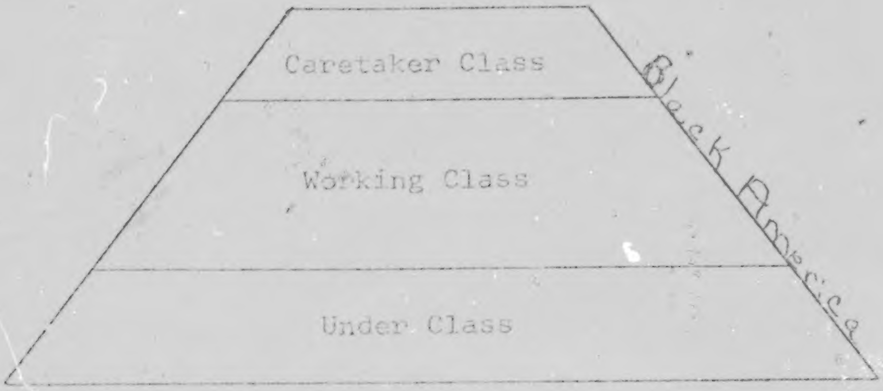
The question became, what is the internal stratification of the black population and what is its relation to existing indicators of SES.

If there is relatively no power and/or authority invested in black America, then the concept of a black "upper class" was null and void. However, even casual observation demonstrated an inequitable distribution of goods and services even among Afro-Americans. Similarly, there were/are a group of blacks who have close relations to and contacts with the overall American power apparatus. This group was and is highly co-related to those persons in receipt of relatively high quality goods and services from U.S. resources. As we disaggregated this class of Afro-Americans, we found that the common denominator was not income, not education, and not associations. Instead, each held a social position/occupation which had supervisory qualities. Black teachers, police, postal supervisors, docters, business executives, government officers, etc. Each position and individual who occupied the position, had others subjected to it. In the absence of legitimated black influence upon the outcomes and direction of American social structures these positions did contain certain vestiges of power and authority. However, neither the positions nor the individuals could effectuate national policy change. Their role was one of 'taking care' to perpetuate existing structures. Black Stylization labelled this class of Afro-America the 'caretaker class'.

Containing more members than the caretaker group, the next socioeconomic position of black people was defined by the group's relationship to production and delivery of goods and services in American society. Black Stylization conceptualized the mid-level of 'working class' black Americans as those persons whose occupations did not involve policy or decision-making in terms of clientele. These occupational positions contained duties focused on productive work or on providing routine services. Skilled construction work, bus drivers, nurses, sales persons, gas station mechanics, secretaries, truck drivers are all examples of the 'working class' Black Stylization conceptualized.

The last socio-economic position of black people which we proposed wss the 'under class'. Though very much a part of the overall power-less social position of all black Americans, members of the under class have a dependent relationship to the entire American society. The occupational classification of the under class is characterized by physical labor, minimal to no skill, and precarious to fluctuating employment stability. Members of this group definitely do not have occupations which involve policy or decision making functions. Laborers, day workers, packers, stock persons, car washers, and those sporadically employed at 'odd' jobs are all examples of the underclass.

Diagram I.2



Within the understandings of culture and Afro-Americans and out of the conceptualizations of stratification of the black community, Black Stylization Project moved to the methodological considerations of its investigation.

METHODOLOGY

Study Design:

The mandate given Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare research project was to empirically explore the existence of a historically continuous and valid culture among Afro-Americans and to determine the implications that culture holds for the field of child welfare. The purpose of this essay is to discuss the former, i.e. our investigation of Afro-American culture. Although much has been previously written/asserted regarding the integrity of Afro-American culture, little empirical study had been conducted on the question. In light of the paucity of previous empirical work, Black Stylization Project was projected as an exploratory, descriptive study of the historical and contemporary expression of Afro-American culture.

For the purposes of this study, culture was simply defined as the values and beliefs, and the artifacts of those values and beliefs shared by a people who have historical continuity. It was theorized that culture could be studied both through the examination of values and beliefs as well as through expressive behaviors which serve as reflective reservoirs of the beliefs and values. Indeed, expressive behaviors could be considered as cultural artifacts. Utilizing these assumptions and definitions, the research design of our project developed out of two hypotheses:

1. That a historically continuous Afro-American culture, based on the cultures of West African peoples, as adapted to the American experience, could be empirically identified, and

2. That although this culture would be applicable to all/most Afro-Americans, the degree of participation in it would be modified by one's class status, as defined by one's relationship to power in society.

For a fuller explication of these concepts, see the preceeding chapter.

During the initial year of research (1972-73), an attempt was made to explore Afro-American culture primarily through the study of values and beliefs, and only secondarily through the observation of expressive modes of behavior. Data was collected on a sample of ninety, fifteen year old and/or tenth grade black students, stratified by class status of their families. The first year's attempts were hampered by two major factors: the age of the children and the lack of sufficient previous work in the field to make valid, reliable conclusions regarding values and beliefs. On the one hand, as adolescents, the respondents were not sufficiently mature to accurately reveal the values and beliefs of the Afro-American community. On the other hand, given the virgin status of empirical research on Afro-American culture, it was extremely difficult to distinguish Afro-American values as opposed to other-American values in the responses of the children.

The experiences of year one led us to shift the second year's emphasis from the complexities of values to the more identifiable and measurable expressive modes of behavior. We hypothesized that the expressive modes, being the external manifestations of culture,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

would show most clearly any stylistic qualities that distinguished Afro-American cultural expressions from those of other American cultures.

Although our investigation was primarily exploratory, we were also concerned with predicting variation in the level of Afro-American expression for each of the behavioral modes. Using the modes as dependent variables, we therefore hypothesized that our classifications of socio-economic status would influence the degree of Afro-centric expression. Similarly, we proposed that the composition of family households, the educational background of the family, and the geographical background of the family would also be important independent variables.

We remain fully cognizant of the ground-breaking nature of our investigation and that our basic assumptions and methodological techniques may be prone to error. Nevertheless, it is hoped that future research will build upon the foundation provided by this exploratory descriptive examination of Afro-American behavioral modes to address the broader questions of Afro-American culture.

Sample Selection:

The sample for the second year of the Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare project consisted of ninety (90) nine year old and/or fourth grade black children. The sample was equally divided among three social classes, yielding thirty (30) under class respondents, thirty (30) working class respondents, and thirty (30) caretaker class respondents. The sample population contained forty-five (45) female and forty-five (45) male respondents.

As the largest single institution affecting the above mentioned sample, the Atlanta public school system, with the permission of the Division of Research and Development, was utilized in sample selection. Our initial procedure was to select nine schools, three representing each economic classification. Within each economic classification we would choose two predominantly black and one integrated school.

In order to determine each school's economic classification, we had to rely upon the percentage of free lunches per school population. For the purposes of our study, a school was classified underclass if seventy per cent (70%) or more students received free lunches, thirty per cent (30%) to sixty-nine per cent (69%) students receiving free lunches indicated a working class school, and thirty per cent (30%) or less students receiving free lunches indicated a caretaker class school.

The racial classification of each school was identified from the fifth day, 1973 school enrollment statistics shown in the "Superintendents Report to the Atlanta Board of Education September 10, 1973". Schools were designated "predominantly black" (90% or higher enrollment) or "integrated" (more than 10% white and 10% black enrollment) in accord with definitions established by Research Atlanta, Inc.
Research Atlanta, School Desegregation in Metro Atlanta 1954-1973, p. 23.

Following the initial selection of nine schools, letters were sent to principals requesting their participation by sending us a list of fifteen (15) nine year old and/or fourth grade black students in a particular economic classification (as determined by parental occupational grouping). This would yield a potential sample of 135 respondents from which to draw our sample of ninety students.

Several problems arose with the sample selection procedure. In two cases, school principals declined to participate. In several others schools designated as one economic classification returned a sample list of another classification. The use of the percentage of free lunches per school population as the sole indication of economic classification proved misleading, particularly in the case of integrated schools. For many integrated schools the economic classification of enrolled black children was substantially lower than that of enrolled whites. Therefore at Brandon Elementary, for example, only 22% of the students were receiving free lunches, classifying it in a caretaker economic position. However, although 50% of the students were black, only 2 black nine year olds or fourth grade students were of caretaker status.

Another inhibiting factor was the high proportion of incomplete and/or inaccurate information on the students given to us by the school system. Potential respondents were to be contacted by mail and by phone to schedule interviews. However, we received a substantial percentage of inaccurate phone numbers, addresses, and parental occupations for potential respondents. Within this area, other inhibiting factors included a high number of respondents without phones, some parental refusals to participate, respondents cancellation of scheduled interviews and incorrect economic classification.

With these reductions in our universal population it became necessary to enlarge in order to get the selected sample of ninety (90). The percentage of free lunches per school population in each class was adjusted to more accurately reflect [illegible] economic characteristics ... 70% or more free lunches indicated *under class*, 20% to 59% free lunches indicated *working class*, and 20% or less indicated *caretaker class*, with only one exception. Near the completion of the interview period, it was necessary to use one school known to contain a high proportion of under and caretaker class respondents even though the percentage of free lunches was 31.3%.

Towards the end of our study, our initial method of sample selection proved inoperative. It became necessary to utilize potential respondents who had previously been rejected because their economic classification did not correspond with the classification of their schools. Nevertheless, from the twenty-one (21) schools participating, a listing of two hundred thirty (230) potential respondents was developed from which the final sample of ninety (90) respondents was drawn. Table II.1 contains a complete listing of 21 schools selected for participation according to racial and economic classification and makes note of their subsequent participation.

The final sample is shown in Table II.2 as characterized by economic classification and sex of respondents. Table II.3 portrays the racial composition of the respondents' schools by the economic classification of students.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE II.1, SCHOOL SELECTION

Number	School	Racial Classification	Cooperation	Participation	% Free Lunches
U-1	Perkerson	Int.	Yes	Yes	27.1%
U-2	Pitts*	Blk.	Yes	Yes	95.4%
U-3	Reynolds*	Blk.	Yes	Yes	97.6%
U-4	Fowler St.*	Int.	Yes	No	70.7%
U-5	Dunbar	Blk.	Yes	Yes	95.6%
U-6	Cook	Blk.	Yes	Yes	95.0%
U-7	Williams	Blk.	No	No	99.5%
U-8	Jessie Jones	Blk.	Yes	Yes	92.9%
U-9	Slaton	Int.	No	No	85.0%
U-10	Forrest	Int.	X	X	62.5%
U-11	Center Hill	Blk.	Yes	Yes	85.4%
U-12	Carey	Blk.	Yes	Yes	84.7%
W-1	Wesley Ave.*	Blk.	Yes	Yes	66.5%
W-2	Herndon*	Blk.	Yes	Yes	30.4%
W-3	Ware	Blk.	Yes	Yes	54.4%
W-4	Robinson	Blk.	Yes	Yes	46.6%
W-5	Gideons	Int.	No	No	29.9%
	Sylvan Hills	Int.	Yes	No	12.7%
W-6	Hutchinson	Int.	Yes	Yes	18.1%
W-7	Jerome Jones	Int.	Yes	Yes	25.1%
W-8	Cleveland Ave.	Int.	No	No	22.2%
W-9	Gordon	Int.	No	No	20.4%
W-10	Forrest	Int.	Yes	Yes	62.5%
W-11	Perkerson*	Int.	X	X	27.1%
C-1	Fickett*	Blk.	Yes	Yes	1.1%
C-2	Brandon*	Int.	Yes	Yes	22.2%
C-3	West Manor	Blk.	Yes	Yes	0.9%
C-4	Collier Heights	Blk.	Yes	Yes	3.9%
C-5	Ben Hill	Int.	Yes	Yes	3.8%
C-6	Sylvan Hills	Int.	X	X	12.7%
	Oglethorpe	Blk.	Yes	Yes	31.3%

---

* = Initial Group of Schools Selected
X = School Changed Classification
"Cooperation" = Favorable response of school principal to Project
"Participation" = Students from school were respondents in Project
"Int." = Integrated; more than 10% white and 10% black enrollment
"Bld." = Predominantly black; 90% or more black enrollment

TABLE II.1, SCHOOL SELECTION, Continued

Number	School	Racial Classification	Cooperation	Participation	% Free Lunches
C-7	Chattahoochee	Int.	No	No	15.4%
C-8	Humphries	Int.	Yes	No	18.1%
C-9	Continental Colony	Int.	No	No	3.7%
C-10	Peyton Forest*	Blk.	No	No	0.5%

TABLE II.2, SEX AND ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS

	M	F	Total
UC	13	17	30
WC	15	15	30
CC	17	13	30
Total	45	45	90

TABLE II.3, RACIAL CLASSIFICATION/ SCHOOL ATTENDED BY ECONOMIC CLASS OF RESPONDENTS

	I	B	Total
UC	3	27	30
WC	9	21	30
CC	5	25	30
Total	17	73	90

Data Collection Techniques:

Having made the decision to concentrate the second year's efforts on the study of Afro-American behavioral modes, the Black Stylization Project began the process of providing a firm foundation upon which research would be conducted. A series of bibliographic essays were developed for specific modes of expressive behavior. These essays traced the historical development of Afro-American expressions from the West African coast, through slavery, to the contemporary expressions of the modes. This historical verification was done in the modes of music, language, food, and dance (see Appendix I for copies of essays.) Although no essay was developed for the mode of religion, we were able to incorporate this area into our instrument construction process by relying upon the consultations with experts on religion and black people. Upon the basis of these papers, consultation with specialists in the modes, and other reviews conducted during the initial year's work, the Project began the process of instrument construction.

To begin construction of our instrument, the staff held a series of seminars devoted to a thorough clarification of the theoretical and historical underpinnings of our research. We then collectively began the process of instrument construction. The instrument constructed consisted of several interdependent components: A tape recorded focused interview with the children accompanied by a series of 6 picture cards, a parent survey questionnaire, video taped group parties with the three classifications of children and participant observation of representative religious services.

A multi-variant approach to data collection was utilized because of the ground breaking nature of our investigation. It was perceived that in this exploratory research we should study each mode from several perspectives to minimally achieve three goals: to provide some internal validity; to assist in determining the best methods of studying Afro-American cultural expressions; and to provide some clarity as to the validity of our indices as measures of Afro-American cultural expressions.

A primary source of data was the focused interview with the children. Given the age of the respondents (nine years old and/or fourth grade), the focused interview provided a format flexible enough to accomodate the attention span of children and to collect all of the necessary responses. The focused interview collected data on the modes of music, food, religion, fashion, and dance. A copy of all the instruments may be found in Appendix II. A series of questions was developed on each mode to elicit the child's feelings about the mode and her/his method of expressing the mode.

The mode of display arts was studied with the use of projective techniques. Four groups of six pictures were selected from magazines on the basis of the degree of Afro-centrality in their expression of color, comfort and plants. In each group of six, two pictures contained highly Afro expressions in the three categories and overall, two pictures were Afro-adapted in their expressions, and two pictures reflected non-Afro expressions of display arts. From a group, each child was asked to select the three pictures she/he preferred. The child was then specifically questioned about his/her feelings toward color, comfort, and plants in each picture.

The entire interview with the child was tape recorded for two reasons. Firstly, this gave a complete reproduction of the child's language pattern, which could be coded by language experts at a later date. Secondly, recording the interview freed the interviewers from the process of note-taking. This enabled the interviewers to devote full attention, in a participating fashion, to the interview, while preserving the entire range of the child's responses.

A survey questionnaire was developed to be administered to one of the parents/guardians of each child participating in our study. The questionnaire primarily consisted of closed-ended, multiple choice questions. It was designed to elicit further information on familial expressions of the modes of food and religion and to obtain demographic data on the family. Data collected on food included which meats, vegetables, salads, and breads were usually prepared for familial consumption and the spices and methods of cooking utilized in the preparation of these foods. Each response was pre-coded on an Afro- to non-Afro-centric continuum. In the mode of religion, data collected included the names, addresses, and denominations of the parents's/guardian's church and of the child's church, if different. These data were coded on the basis of the Afro-centrality of the church's denomination. A representative sample of the churches were later individually coded by participant observation in order to locate the church services on the Afro non-Afro cultural continuum. The data collected on food and religion served as sources of internal validity, when correlated with the children's responses to the focused interview. Demographic data was collected in the following areas: the occupations and class standing of the parent(s)/guardian(s); family/household composition; and age and geographical backgrounds of both the parent(s)/guardian(s) and the children.

The last method of data collection designed was video taping. Upon the conclusion of the interviewing period, the child-respondents were invited to "parties". Participation in the three parties was based upon the respondents' class status. At these parties, music pre-coded along our Afro- non-Afro continuum was played. The children's responses to the music and their dance was to be recorded for a collective class-based coding of the children's music and dance expressions. Unfortunately, these data no longer exist.

Videotaping of the parties was sub-contracted to the Clark College Communications Department. We encountered all of the predictable problems of a research project existing in an educational setting which has been consciously underdeveloped by the society. Student personnel were not thoroughly trained, resulting in poor quality tapes, most of which were later inadvertently destroyed. The absence of data tapes obviously made coding of cultural expressions in the modes studied impossible.

Thus, a multi-variant approach was taken to the collection of data: to insure internal validity, to determine the best methods of studying Afro-American expression; and to provide clarity on the validity of our indices as measures of Afro-American cultural expressions. Table II.4 reflects this multi-variant approach Black Stylization assumed in its data collection.

TABLE II.4. MULTI-VARIANT DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Mode Studied	Techniques Utilized
Dance	FI, VT
Display Arts	PT
Fashion	FI
Food	FI, SQ
Language	FI, TR
Music	FI, SQ, VT
Religion	FI, SQ, PO

Code:
FI = Focused Interview
PO = Participant Observation
PT = Projective Techniques
SQ = Survey Questionnaire
TR = Tape Recording
VT = Video Taping

Statistical Analysis:

Although Black Stylization was an exploratory investigation, we had initially planned to provide frequency distribution of dependent and independent variables, cross-tabulations of dependent variables against class status, selected cross-tabulations of dependent variables against disaggregated components of socio-economic status, and to utilize convergent and discriminant statistical validation of the measurement techniques. Additionally, we had planned to explore comparative correlations between selected components of first year data (1972-73 data as recoded on the basis of our more firmly grounded understandings) and second year data. Unfortunately, a history of inequitable distribution of America's resources, in combination with the underdevelopment of black educational resources hampered our abilities to carry out this process of data analysis.

The Atlanta University Computation Center, serving the six predominantly black colleges in the complex, is under the direction of a single individual. This person combines a full teaching load, the supervision of the Computation Center, and fund raising for the Center's continuing operation. Assisting the Center Director in such monumental tasks is one full-time secretary and a variety of work-study students. Predictably, any systematic request for sustained computer assistance or request for more than the existing Center programs would produce problems. What we had initially perceived as taking four months, took eight months. We were able to obtain printouts of the frequency distributions of all variables, of cross-tabulations of dependent variables against class status, and of some additional cross-tabulations of dependent modes against assumed significant independent variables.

Unfortunately, towards the end of the Project, a student lab assistant inadvertently destroyed part of the information from the disc on which our program was being run. It was impossible to obtain another disc of this type from IBM prior to the conclusion of the Project. Thus we were unable to obtain either statistical measures of significance or the correlations between first and second year data. We hope to obtain print-outs of such data in the future, and with some assistance could produce an analysis of those data.

Conclusion:

The methodological approach of the second year of research of the Black Stylization Project was characterized by a shift in emphasis in the variables studied, from an indistinct conception of values and beliefs to a firmly grounded examination of Afro-American stylistic variations of the expressive modes of behavior. Using the Atlanta University School of Social Work conception of class status as the primary independent variable, we addressed the study of the expressive modes of Afro-American culture. Data was collected using a multi-variant approach to insure internal validity and to determine the more effective techniques of studying Afro-American behavioral modes. Additionally, initial computer cross-tabulations were produced with the assistance of the Atlanta University Computation Center.

ANALYSES-YEAR II

Amid all the difficulties Black Stylization has experienced, we are able to analytically discuss the data of our research: perhaps not in the refined conclusive manner we had planned, but informed discussion nevertheless. Beginning with just the demographic distribution of our sample, both the children and their parents were overwhelmingly southern by birth. Of the ninety respondents, 82 children, 88 parent-respondents, and 76 spouses were born in the south. This very strong geographic characteristic of our sample will give definite clarification of Afro-American cultural behavior in its southern expressions but must be ecologically compared with other samples.

The general educational level of the sample parents was relatively high. Seventy-nine (79) or 88 per cent of the parent-respondents as well as 66 or 73 per cent of the spouses had minimally received a high school education. More than half of both the parent-respondents (59) and their spouses (54) had received all of their education in predominantly black settings. The educational context of our 90 children respondents also reflected a black or predominantly black racial composition. Seventy-three or 71% of the children were in schools of this makeup. It seems clear, that our respondents are on a good road to perpetuating their parents' history of a predominantly black educational environment. Such continued racial separation in educational institutions will not maximize contact with Afro-American culture by the non-black population of this society.

III.2

Given the inordinate amount of discussion and literature regarding the perceived non-nuclear and multi-generational nature of black children's family life, our sample was distinctively from 'nuclear' families and only one generation beyond the child in the home. Table III.1 gives the distributions by socio-economic class.

TABLE III.1, FAMILY ORGANIZATION

	Married	Nuclear	One Generation Beyond Child
Under Class	9	21	24
Working Class	17	25	29
Caretaker Class	24	28	28
TOTAL	50	74	81

N=90

The major hypothesis of our research was that Afro-American cultural behavior would be expressed by black children and that the degree of that expression would vary by the socio-economic classes we had distinguished. In other words, our conceptualization of class in the black community would be the strongest predictor of Afro-American cultural behaviors. We felt that caretaker children, by membership in a group whose lifestyle incorporated more variety of societal resources, would express behaviors of a more multi-cultural or non-Afro perspective. Working class children would have stronger Afro-centrality to their behaviors but would also reflect the Afro-adapted types of expressions. We predicted that children from the underclass, because they experience fewer intrusions from societal resources, would have strongest Afro-American cultural expressions.

Religion:

In the mode of religion, there appeared to be partial support for our hypothesis in that all seven (7) parents attending churches of non-Afro denominations were of the caretaker class. Table III.2 lists denominations by cultural centrality. The eight (8) children who attended non-Afro denominations were also caretakers. However, of those eighteen (18) parents attending Afro-adapted denominations, only six (6) were working class with ten (10) caretakers. The children's distribution in the Afro-adapted denominations was two (2) working class and nine (9) caretakers. Table III.3 gives a clearer picture of the denominational distribution of parents and children.

Table III.2, Religious Denominations by Cultural Centrality

Afro	Afro-Adapted	Non-Afro
Baptist Church of God in Christ Holiness Pentecostal Spiritualist	African Methodist Episcopal African Methodist Episcopal Zion Christian Methodist Episcopal United Methodist	Catholic Congregational Episcopal Lutheran Presbyterian

Table III.3, Cultural Centrality of Parents' and Children's Denominations

Caretakers	Parents	Children	
Afro	11	9	20
Afro-Adapted	10	9	19
Non-Afro	7	8	15
	28	26 ✓	54
TOTALS			N=60

Table III.3, continued

Working Class

	Parents	Children	
Afro	23	25	48
Afro-Adapted	6	2	8
Non-Afro	0	0	0
	29	27	56
TOTALS			N=60

Under Class

	Parents	Children	
Afro	27	27	54
Afro-Adapted	2	2	4
Non-Afro	0	0	0
	29	29	58
TOTALS			N=60

Although we could easily discuss the accuracy of hypothesizing Afro-American cultural expression for an entire black population, using religious denomination as an index, we were not confirmed that the predicted variations by class were valid. The working class, predicted to have more adapted than non-Afro expression, was never as strong as assumed. By comparison, caretakers out-expressed the working class in the Afro-adapted category. Should denominational affiliation prove to be an index of Afro-American cultural behavior, then the non-Afro or multi-cultural posture of caretakers is less influential than their Afro or Afro-adapted content. This would be significant in that it gives stronger support to the continued existence of Afro-American cultural behavior across class lines.

Food:

The mode for which the statistical verification of our indices are almost assumed is food. The historical data were so supportive to both the aggregate and disaggregate categories of food that we feel fairly comfortable discussing the findings. Both in preference of foodstuffs and in the preferred methods of cooking, the children of our sample expressed more Afro and Afro-adapted behaviors. Table III.4 gives the aggregated distributions of these categories.

TABLE III.4, CULTURAL CENTRALITY OF AGGREGATED FOODSTUFFS AND COOKING METHODS

	Food Preference	Food Dislikes*	Methods Preference
Afro	42	7	68
Afro-Adapted	40	29	6
Non-Afro	5	43	2

*The figures in this category must be read in reverse since they reflect dislikes.

The preponderance of Afro and Afro-adapted foods usually prepared in the home was also reflected. In the categories of meats, vegetables, spices, and salads, expressions within the continuum of Afro and Afro-adapted were the norm.

TABLE III.5, CULTURAL CENTRALITY DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD CATEGORIES
N=90

	Meats	Salads*	Vegetables	Spices
Afro	39	41	40	81
Afro-Adapted	50	47	44	2
Non-Afro	1	0	6	7

*Two parent-respondents said they usually did not prepare salads.

Focusing on the category of meats and the methods most often used to prepare them--Table III.6 gives the cultural centrality listing for these--there were some very interesting results for chicken and beef steaks. Although chicken was coded as an Afro-adapted food, the cooking method most responding households used was frying, 62 or 68.9%. No other method even came close to this Afro coded manner of cooking. For beef steak, also coded Afro-adapted, the method most often employed was broil, 58 or 64.4%. However, broiling was coded as a non-Afro means of preparation. Table III.7 is the distribution of cooking methods for chicken and beef steak.

The perplexing nature of these Afro-adapted meats--chicken and beef steak--prepared with Afro and non-Afro methods respectively may have several explanatory modes. The cultural centrality coding may be incorrect and chicken is an Afro food while beef steak is non-Afro. Similarly, our index of Afro-American cooking methods may be wrong. However, we suspect that no matter the factor of error in coding foods and methods, these are inter-related indices of Afro-American culture and must be statistically combined in order to arrive at a behavior predictor in the mode of food. We feel the same will prove true for other foodstuffs as well.

TABLE III.6, CULTURAL CENTRALITY LISTING OF MEATS AND COOKING METHODS

Afro	Afro-Adapted	Non-Afro
	MEATS	
fish ham pork chops neck bones	chicken beef steak	game hens lamb veal
	METHODS OF COOKING	
fry stew boil	simmer bake roast	broil poach saute

TABLE III.7, COOKING METHODS OF CHICKEN AND BEEF STEAK

	Chicken	Beef Steak
Afro/		
fry	62	14
stew	2	1
boil	1	2
Afro-Adapted/		
simmer	0	1
bake	17	4
roast	1	6
Non-Afro/		
broil	10	58
poach	0	1
saute	0	1

III.8

Black Stylization had assumed that our class categories would be strong predictors of cultural expressions and felt that food was a mode in which the hypothesis would be especially valid. Within class expressions for the categories of vegetables, breads, salads, and spices, there appears to be less of a non-Afro content than even we had expected. The implication is, that, unlike assimilationist theories of race and culture (see section I), Afro-American cultural behavior maintains itself across class lines in the mode of food. Table III.8 is the cultural centrality listing of salads, spices, breads, and vegetables and Table III.9 shows the compared distributions.

With only one exception, Afro expressions were stronger than non-Afro in all classes and categories. Where separation between the two categories was smallest, Afro vegetables nine (9) and non-Afro vegetables five (5), the choices were from caretaker households. Similarly, caretakers were the single exception of non-Afro choices being stronger than Afro ones, breads fifteen (15) and fourteen (14) respectively. Our hypothesis explains this type of variation by class. Our hypothesis explains this type of variation by class. Where we are at an explanatory loss however, is within the inconsistent nature of the relationship between Afro and Afro-adapted expressions by working class families for all four food categories.

TABLE III.8, CULTURAL CENTRALITY LISTING FOR SALADS, SPICES, VEGETABLES AND BREAD

Afro	Afro-Adapted	Non-Afro
	SALADS	
Potato	Lettuce and Tomato	Spinach and Beans
	SPICES	
Onion Red Pepper Black Pepper	Poultry Seasoning Thyme	Tenderizer Accent Sage
	VEGETABLES	
Blackeyed Peas Okra Collard Greens	Green Peas Pole Beans	Cauliflower Broccoli Spinach
	BREADS	
Corn Bread	Muffins	Hot Rolls

TABLE III.9, CULTURAL CENTRALITY DISTRIBUTION FOR SALADS, SPICES, VEGETABLES AND BREADS BY CLASS

	Salads			Spices			Vegetables			Breads		
	UC	WC	CC	UC	WC	CC	UC	WC	CC	UC	WC	CC
Afro	22	11	8	29	28	24	19	12	0	25	27	14
Afro-Adapted	8	17	22	1	0	1	11	17	16	2	0	1
Non-Afro	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	1	5	2	3	15

Working class choices of breads reflected strong Afro, very little non Afro and absolutely no Afro adapted expressions. In vegetables and salads, the Afro-adapted expressions are strongest while choices of spices return to the patterns of breads -- strong Afro, very little non Afro and absolutely no Afro adapted. Black Stylization could speculate about the patterned but unpredicted distributions of working class choices in this category. However, the ungrounded nature of such speculations cause us to hesitate. Rather than put forth unsupportable hypotheses about this phenomena at this time, we chose to wait for further computer tabulations. At least then we will have better insights into the overall reliability of our instrument.

Music:

The open-ended nature of the children's responses to preferences in the mode of music almost played havoc with our computer programming. Out of research necessity we disaggregated many of the music responses of the children. Out of sheer necessity of time we did not disaggregate to the fullest potential. Though there is not yet the benefit of computer reports for disaggregated categories of music, the aggregated distributions show some interesting patterns.

The children preferred types of music and musical groups which rated Afro on our cultural continuum. Indeed, the expressions were more than half of the sample population. Sixty six (66) or 73.3 per cent of the children preferred Afro types of music and sixty-nine (69) or 76.7 per cent preferred musical groups who fell into this category. Table III.10 shows the [illegible]

TABLE III.10, CULTURAL CENTRALITY DISTRIBUTION FOR MUSICAL TYPES AND [illegible]

	Musical Types	Musical Groups
Afro	66	60
Afro Adapted	8	5
Non-Afro	1	0

*The number of children who did not respond in these categories may prove to have detrimental affect upon the significance of these figures.

When we took coded responses in all musical categories and collapsed them into a composite distribution, the results were: Afro expressions 75, Afro-adapted 6, and non-Afro 1.

Should these data prevail through tests of significance, it seems clear that the children's expressions in the mode of music are very Afro-centric. As such, this mode could be a strong predictor of Afro American cultural behavior.

Perhaps as perplexing as our findings in the mode of food, the distribution of musical preference by class demonstrated an unexplainable pattern. In the composite musical distributions by class as well as in preferences of musical groups and types, there were no working class Afro-adapted responses. [illegible] preference for musical types, there was even a [illegible] class expression and no caretaker non-Afro expression. This was obviously in contradiction to our hypothesis of class and cultural behavior. We are baffled! Table III.11 gives the full distribution by class.

TABLE III.11. CULTURAL CENTRALITY DISTRIBUTION BY CLASS FOR COLLAPSED MUSICAL RESPONSES, MUSICAL GROUPS AND MUSICAL TYPES

	Collapsed Responses			Musical Groups			Musical Types		
	UC	WC	CC	UC	WC	CC	UC	WC	CC
Afro	26	26	23	23	25	21	20	26	20
Afro-Adapted	1	0	5	1	0	2	1	0	7
Non-Afro	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0

It is apparent that Black Stylization is mandated to wait for fuller data tabulations before moving to final analyses.

Language:

The mode of language was not subjected to computer analyses, so our discussion of results must be wholly narrative. After submitting a selected sample of our cassette tapes to the graduate Afro-American Studies linguistics class of Atlanta University, we were generally confirmed in our hypotheses. The phonetic transcriptions of the children's conversations revealed the presence of features consistent with our understanding of Black Vernacular English (see language paper, Appendix 1.1).

In order to give more substance to the review and analyses of our data in the language mode, arrangements have been made to have them evaluated by Dr. Kenneth Johnson of the University of California. Although Dr. Johnson had previously worked with Black Stylization as a consulting linguist, his schedule did not allow the evaluative consultation at the time we needed.

We feel very strongly that the mode of language, more so than some others, is very Afro-centric in expression while at the same time more delegitimized by the American society. As opposed to comprehending and accepting BVE as a legitimate form of human communication, with the historical and cultural substance therein, America attacks it as 'non-English.' It is our informed opinion that there is serious and realistic need for all levels of our society to acknowledge and respond to BVE as a legitimate communication form and teach standard English as a second language.

Summary:

The data analyses of Black Stylization has been and is hampered by the unavailability of full computer tabulations. Nevertheless, from the distributions in all coded modes of cultural behavior, there is a very strong trend towards validating Afro-American cultural behaviors in the expressions of our Atlanta sample. This is consistent with our hypothesis.

We also hypothesized that our conceptualization of socio-economic class in the black community would be a strong predictor of variations in these cultural expressions. As of yet, we can not attest to the validity or invalidity of this hypothesis. We also anxiously await our computer tabulations in order to be informed of the comparative relations between Year II data with Year I data. We anticipate great insight from these tabulations and shall continue our analyses.

CHILD WELFARE PROGRAMS

Our approach to the program evaluation aspect of the project was grounded in the understanding of a necessity for multi-cultural components in all aspects of child welfare programming. We were led to this through the empirical demonstration of Afro-American cultural behavioral expressions by young black children. Afro-American cultural expressions were demonstrated even though systematic attempts for over 400 years had been aimed at its delegitimation and eradication. If cultural behaviors had been maintained by black Americans, it was reasonable to assume that other American cultural and ethnic minorities had sustained variations in their expressive behaviors as well. Given the existence of cultural variation in American's expressive behaviors, we concluded that the delivery of child welfare services should not only attempt to achieve societal goals, but also should protect the cultural integrity of the child-clients. In addition, we felt it is a major disservice to American society for child welfare programs not to familiarize and prepare children for participation in our multi-cultural nation.

Perhaps a most dramatic example of the cultural disservice being done within human services systems of America is captured in the following passage from the report of a federally funded project:

> These people (culturally different) possess cultural and social attitudes alien to those of the broader community....Hence, they are disadvantaged to the degree that their culture has failed to provide them with the ex-

> periences that are 'normal' to the children and adults of the broader community. (Phelps, 1974, 230-486).

Out of our empirical and historical verification of the integrity of Afro-American culture, we were in radical disagreement with this false valuation of one culture over another. The logical nexus of our thinking was to evaluate the multi-cultural perspective contained in child welfare programs.

The difficulty in evaluating multi-cultural content in programmatic operation was that Black Stylization only had specific clarity for Afro-American culture. We had no data on cultural expressions of other ethnic and minority groups. We therefore decided to focus on the incorporation and/or legitimation of Afro-American cultural behavior. As best as possible, we would identify the existence or non-existence of multi-cultural perspective in the programming of Georgia child welfare operation.

Methodology:

In moving towards this evaluation, we selected thirty-five(35) programs in urban and rural locations of the state. Initially we had wanted to evaluate programs in receipt of public funding and went to the Georgia Department of Human Resources for our sample identification. We were not successful in identifying the funding sources for some programs prior to evaluation and as such our reporting will note private versus public funded programs where appropriate.

In order to carry out our program evaluations, the staff of

Black Stylization deliberated towards the creation of a useful data instrument. We felt that the purpose of our data collection was three-fold:

1) identification of population
2) measurement of Afro-cultural inclusion
3) identification of presence of absence of multi-cultural components and their frequency

After several revisions of the original draft we ended with a workable, though limited, instrument (see Appendix I). It provided an adequate tool for collecting data in the three areas listed.

We felt that we were best equipped to evaluate residential and pre-school programs for children. By concentrating our efforts on these two categories of programs, we felt we could achieve more significant results. The applicability of our findings to programs which serviced children under other conditions, while not specifically stated or documented, was assumed.

From the thirty-five(35) selected programs, Black Stylization was able to review and evaluate twenty-five(25): sixteen (16) young children or pre-school programs and nine(9) older children's programs. Table 1 shows the distribution of the evaluated programs by county and by type.

The data for our child welfare program evaluation were collected by Project staff members who conducted on site interviews with the program personnel. In most instances these were program teachers, directors, and cooks. Our interview was focused in that

Table IV.1., Distribution by Counties

Counties	Pre-School	Older	Total
Bartow	0	1	1
Bibb	1	1	2
Bryant	1		1
Chatham	1	1	2
Clarke	2	0	2
Daugherty	1	0	1
Floyd	0	1	1
Fulton	1	2	3
Liberty	0	1	1
Macon	1	0	1
McIntosh	1	0	1
Muscogee	3	1	4
Rabun	1	0	1
Randolph	1	0	1
Richmond	2	0	2
Tifton	0	1	1
TOTALS	16	9	25

we completed the developed data instrument as well as allowed respondants to discuss the issues (see Appendix 1). We begin our reporting with findings from programs focusing on young children.

Data Analyzed:

Pre-School Programs

Pre-school programs numbered 16, or 64% of the total programs evaluated. Of these, Day Care centers comprised 81%. Day Care Programs are primarily designed for working or incapacitated parents in order to provide child care services, generally from seven a.m. to six p.m. (7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.). Day Care may or may not have an educational component. The children range from infancy to age 6.

Three (3) of the programs we evaluated for young children were Head Start. Head Start was implemented during the '60's as an "enrichment" program for "underprivileged" children in order to provide them with experiences to which children from the dominant culture had been exposed. Its goal was to give the children supplementary experiences so that upon reaching 1st grade they would be "equal" to their counterparts from the dominant culture.

Using the criteria of the U.S. Census Bureau, we selected twelve (12) urban and four (4) rural programs oriented to young or pre-school children. On the average, there were sixty-nine (69) students in the programs with the mean size being forty-three (43). The racial composition of the program participants is reflected in Table 2. Although one rural, integrated program had actively

Table IV.2., Racial Composition of Pre-School Programs

	#	%
Black 90 - 100% black children	7	43.8%
Predominantly Black 64-89% black children	5	31.2%
Integrated 37-63% black children	4	25.0%
Predominantly White 11-36% black children	0	0.0%
White 0-10% black children	0	0.0%
TOTALS	16	100.0%

sought white students, it and most of the other centers were predominantly black. Three of the four programs which had a sufficient racial mix to be classified integrated were in urban areas. Fifteen (94%) of the young children's programs had participants from only two American cultural and/or ethnic groups...white and Afro-American.

The data on racial composition of our selected programs led us to the perception that Day Care and Head Start in Georgia are services primarily for black parents. It was also demonstrated that such services correlated with low income. Though we collected no data specifically on income, we found that the criteria for inclusion in the programs presupposed a low income. Table 3 shows the distribution of evaluated programs as related to the criteria they employed for providing child-oriented services to families.

Table IV.3., Criteria for Participation in Young/Pre-School Childrens' Programs

Criteria for Participation	# Programs Employing and %	
Public Housing	3	18.7%
AFDC Recipient	2	12.4%
Working Mother	1	6.2%
Average income $2,500.	3	18.7%
Income not a factor	9	56.2%
No criteria	0	0.0%
TOTALS	18*	100.0%

*some indicated more than one criteria

From this table, assuming lower income levels for residence in public housing, recipients of AFDC, etc., the majority of programs we evaluated were servicing low-income parents. When correlated with the data and discussion on the programs' racial composition, Day Care and Head Start for the state has a low-income and black predominance.

With the same continuum we had employed for ranking cultural behaviors of the Atlanta school children, we attempted to determine Afro-American cultural expressions in the selected child welfare programs. Again, we went to the behavioral modes of music, language, food, and dance. Unfortunately, the evaluative instrument we had developed was not capable of providing useful data on Afro-American culture as expressed by organizations or institutional arrangements. In the mode of food, for example, we found that the majority of programs used spices, food stuffs, and methods of preparation which were strongly consistent with Afro-American cultural expression. The question was, however, does this mean an awareness and/or sanction of that cultural unit? Black Stylization staff tended to think not and admitted the weakness of its evaluative instrument.

In attempting to address the issue of a multi-cultural perspective to the operation of young children's programs, a majority of our sample did include foods and music of other ethnic groups. Generally, the programs appeared to have an awareness of cultural variation within American society and willingness to explore them. The unfortunate nature of this willing awareness was that most programs saw such incorporation as "special activities". The utilization of multi-cultural activities was not seen to be part of a day-to-day, on-going need of the children.

Residential Centers

Nine (9) residential programs were evaluated in our study, comprising 36 per cent of the sample. The programs studied included residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed youth and centers for long term foster and protective care. The children in the centers ranged from six to eighteen years of age. The racial composition of the centers is shown in Table IV.3. All the programs, except one, had only white and/or black children: the one exception was a program in which one Spanish-surnamed child participated.

TABLE IV.3, RACIAL COMPOSITION OF RESIDENTIAL PROGRAMS

	#	%
Black 90-100% black children	2	22.2
Predominantly Black 65-89% black children	0	0.0
Integrated 37-64% black children	2	22.2
Predominantly White 11-36% black children	1	11.1
White 0-10% black children	4	44.4%

Six of the nine programs studied were urban, although two of the six were in rural-like suburbs. No particular correlation was found between the geographical location of the centers and their racial composition, but, an interesting relationship became evident between racial composition and funding sources, and ultimately the whole concept of residential treatment.

Funding sources varied considerably among the different types of centers. Although our initial attempt was to evaluate only centers which received at least partial public funding, two of the residential centers selected relied solely on private funds. The remaining seven received public funds or a combination of public and private funds. The two privately funded programs had no black children and in fact used race as a criteria in the admittance process. Although the publicly funded programs could not legally discriminate on the basis of race, we found the majority of these programs (five) primarily serve white children. The two exceptions were black centers initially founded during days of segregation to serve dependent black children. However, these two centers are now integrated.

In comparing the data from residential centers with those from pre-school centers, there are interesting distinctions in the provision of child-oriented services. Early childhood or pre-school programs are largely provided to poor black families. Residential services for older children, on the other hand, are primarily provided to non-black or white families. The significant correlation of this division of services is that pre-school programs--predominantly poor blacks--are publicly funded while residential programs--predominantly white--are mostly of private funding.

The absence or minute presence of black children in the majority of the residential programs indicates a tendency against incorporation of and/or exposure to the variety of cultural units operating in the United States, particularly Afro-American culture. Unfortunately our evaluation instrument was not sophisticated enough to accurately reflect the presence or absence of Afro-centrality and multi-culturality in these programs. Although the instrument revealed Afro-adapted to Afro cultural expressions in several modes, we were unable to determine if this was a conscious incorporation of Afro-American culture or, more like, a conscious incorporation of Southern white culture, which is in many ways, causally related to Afro-American culture. Our assumptions in this area were confirmed through the interview discussions with program personnel. For example, one director informed us that although he did have one black participant in his program, there was no positive cultural reinforcement available for the child.

IMPLICATIONS

As an exploratory investigation, Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare Project has made significant contributions to the understanding of Afro-American cultural behavior and the relationship of that unit to the field of child welfare services. The following are the major implications to be drawn from our three years of research:

A. Research of Afro-American Life and Culture

The series of position papers on the historical development of Afro American modal behavior should be expanded to include more modes. It is possible that such research would and should lead to theoretical identification of the distinctive underlying beliefs and values of Afro-American culture.

A more intensive analysis needs to be made of the various indices Black Stylization developed to measure Afro-centrality in the identified modes of behavioral expression. Given the refinement and validation of cultural measures, our study should be replicated to identify geographic or ecological variations. Similarly, cross cultural studies should be completed to clarify issues of cultural contact and change.

More research is also needed on the concept of social stratification utilized by Black Stylization. We found it to be a useful predictor of variation in Afro-American cultural behavior. Theoretical investigation into the possible distinc tiveness of black American stratification should be made. The validity of our conceptualization for predicting Afro-American social, political, economic, as well as cultural behavior lies in further theoretical and empirical exploration.

B. Child Welfare.

The major finding of Black Stylization work in the field of child welfare has been the demonstration of a failure by selected Georgia child-oriented programs to consciously address Afro-American culture in their delivery of services.

The non-incorporation of Afro-American cultural content, as well as the absence of a multi-cultural perspective within the on-going programs of these centers implies that the children are being severely handicapped. They are not being provided with nor will they acquire the knowledge bases for accepting cultural variation and difference as legitimate contribution to the strengthening of American society. We see the need for immediate implementation of a multi-cultural approach to program and planning of child welfare services.

C. Other Implications.

In the area of curriculum development, we see the necessity of incorporating a multi-cultural approach to the training of administrators and practitioners responsible for the delivery of child-oriented services to the American population.

Our experience in sample selection holds severe implications for the public school system. The inability to contact respondents due to incorrect parental addresses and telephone numbers suggests that the school system would also be unable to make such contact in emergency situations.

Finally, the Black Stylization Project underscores the necessity for increased funding of research at predominantly black institutions in order to assist in counteracting the history of societally induced underdevelopment. That we have overcome this underdevelopment to the completion of a research investigation is major testimony to institutional readiness.

DISSEMINATION

The dissemination activities of the Black Stylization Project began in the project's second year. Although we had only identified trends of the empirical data, several position papers had been written which allowed us to speak definitively of the historical continuity of black people's cultural expressions. As our analysis of the data continued we were increasingly able to make correlations between our empirical findings, the historical findings, and our theoretical assumptions. We used all of this work as the basis and content of our dissemination contacts.

Dissemination efforts have spanned quite a large and diverse group of audiences and have taken numerous forms. Table VI.1 reflects conference disseminations, type of participation, and date.

TABLE VI.1, CONFERENCE/SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS

Conference Title	Nature of Participation	Date
1. Council on Social Work Education	panel presentation	Spring '74
2. Child Welfare League of America	panel presentation	Spring '74
3. OCD Project Directors' Meeting	research collaboration	Fall '74
4. Center for African and Afro-American Studies Atlanta University	panel presentation	December '74
5. Spelman College "Medical Profession and the Black Community	classroom lecture	February '75
6. Conference on the Black Family in America, Univ. of Louisville	"Social Stratification and Black People"	March '75
7. University of Colorado Women's Conference	lecture/presentation	March '75

/VI. 2

TABLE VI.1, CONFERENCE/SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS, Continued

Conference Title	Nature of Participation	Date
8. University of Colorado Women's Conference	Lecture/presentation	March '75
9. Association for Social and Behavioral Scientists, D.C.	Session discussant	April '75
10. Southern Sociologists Society, Washington, DC	Panel presentation -- "Absence of Afro-American Culture as an Influencing Factor in the Analysis of The Black Community	April '75
11. Morehouse College Marriage and Family Institute	Paper presented	April '75
12. Second Conference on Comparability of Research-Inter-agency Panel on Early Childhood Education; Washington, DC	Discussion/Research Collaboration and Comparability	May '75
13. Georgia State University Conference on Day Care	Panel Presentation	May '75

These presentations were to professionals in their respective fields and although some were attended by local individuals, a majority of the presentations were attended by either regional or national representatives. In sharing our data with these audiences, we have, if nothing more, made others aware of the distinctiveness of Afro-

American cultural expressions. Such an awareness, bolstered by our empirical and documentary data, should precipitate serious consideration of the issues at levels of policy making and program implementation. (See Appendix I)

Additionally, our research methodology, incorporating non-standard conceptualization of stratification in the black community, can possibly provide researchers with new tools for the description and analyses of socio-economic status and black people.

As with our dissemination efforts focused on professional conferences, the effort towards incorporating Black Stylization findings began in the fall of 1974. We concentrated on finding ways to incorporate our findings into the curricula of existing educational institutions within the Atlanta area. In some instances we spoke directly with classroom teachers of young children, in others, we spoke to faculties and graduate students in Schools of Education. These presentations provided excellent opportunities for sharing our findings with educators and then working with them to begin designing innovative curricula which encompassed the integrity of Afro-American cultural expressions as well as others. Table VI.2 lists the dissemination contacts we made in this category and has copies of letters we received in response to our participation in the various activities.

TABLE VI.2. CURRICULUM DISSEMINATION

Educational Unit	Types of Audience	Date
1. Appalachian Training Program	worker/ trainees	Summer '74
2. "Socialization and Black Children", Atlanta University School of Social Work	graduate students	Spring and Summer '74
3. Georgia State University Department of Early Childhood Education	faculty	February '75
4. A.U.S.S.W. Leadership Development Project	teachers/ para-professionals	February '75
5. Spelman College (psychology class)	undergraduate students	February '75
6. Division of Educational Administration Atlanta University	graduate students	February '75
7. Department of Educational Psychology Clark College	undergraduate students	April '75
8. Division of Educational Administration Atlanta University/ Georgia State University - Joint Graduate Seminar	graduate students	May '75
9. Institute of the Black World	staff	May '75
10. Socialization and the Black Child, A.U.S.S.W.	students	Spring '75
11. The Learning Web	staff and faculty	Spring '75
12. East Lake Meadows Child Development Center	staff and faculty	Spring '75

In our efforts to reach a wider audience we are also turning to the mass media. Though we have not actually accomplished this phase of our dissemination plan, several radio and television appearances have been scheduled. We anticipate a continuing interest in our work and do not plan to discontinue our efforts with the termination of this grant.

It is the intent of the Project Director for Black Stylization to continue to utilize the research data as resources for the preparation of a series of manuscripts. The very nature of implementing this project has precluded such written material before now. However, articles will be submitted to professional as well as commercial journals. The listing of individuals wishing to receive copies of our final report -- Appendix II-- attests to the existence of an audience.

TABLE VI.III, DOCUMENTS DISSEMINATED

	# Distributed	Food	Language	Music	Dance
"Behavioral Mode Position Papers"	39	11	14	7	7
"74-75 Status Report"	58				
"74-75 Continuation Proposal"	8				
"73-74 Progress Report"	9				
	N=114				

APPENDIX I

LANGUAGE

Susan J. Ross

Culture encompasses the world-view of a people -- their values, beliefs, expressions, and way of life. Culture provides identity and serves as the basis for a people's interactions both within and without the cultural unit. Modes of expressive behavior, i.e. music, dance, language, are external manifestations of a people's culture. It is my intention to examine one such behavioral mode, language, as an expression of Afro-American culture and to explore the implications of Afro-American expressions of language for the field of Child Welfare.

According to Richard Long, there are three dimensions central to any discussion of Afro-American dialect: the historical, the analytic, and the social (Long, CAAS I). Due to the unique functions of language in Afro-American culture, an additional dimension -- the functional -- can be added to Dr. Long's analysis of Black Vernacular English (BVE). This paper will examine each of these dimensions of BVE.

I. The Historical Dimension:

During the fifteenth century, Portuguese explorers began to explore the West Coast of Africa. There, they encountered a virtual multitude of grammatically similar, yet lexically distinct languages of the Niger-Congo family (Greenberg, 1966; Long, 1971). A pidgin language, comprised of Portuguese lexicon and West African grammatical structures was developed for the purposes of establishing communication and trade (Schneider, 1967; Dillard, 1971A). This Afro-Portuguese pidgin was carried by Portuguese explorers to diverse areas of the world, and served as the prototype for the worldwide development of pidgin languages (DeCamp, 1971a).

As Portuguese ascendency on the High Seas began to wane, other European explorers came into contact with the Niger-Congo languages of West Africa, leading to the emergence of Afro-Dutch, Afro-French, and Afro-English pidgin languages based on the prototype Afro-Portuguese (Cassidy, 1971; Dalby, 1970). The evolution of the Afro-English pidgin is particularly relevant to this discussion. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, British sailors, speaking "Nautical English", explored and settled on the West African coast. Their 'Nautical English', a virtual polyglot of British dialects, combined with West African grammatical structures in the creation of an Afro-English pidgin (Hancock, 1972). The Afro-English pidgin became a native creole language to the children of the Anglo-African communities and attained use as a lingua franca among Africans of different tribes as well. Afro-English survives today on the West African coast in the creole languages of Sierra Leone Krio, Liberian Pidgin English, and Wes-Kos of the Camerouns (Berry, 1961; Schneider, 1966).

The escalation of British participation in the slave trade brought the Afro-English pidgin/creole to the Americas, along with a number of West African languages. In the caste societies of the New World, the African element in the creole was initially intensified by association with 'pure' African languages. However, among those Africans in closest contact with Europeans (primarily mulattoes and house servants), the creole was relexified in the direction of the dominant language, English (Alleyne, 1971). This is the first indication that the stratification within the Black community itself would affect the degree of African retention.

The abolition of slavery began to loosen the strict caste systems of the New World. As a result, the relexification of the Afro-English creole intensified in the direction of the socially prestigious language in each area. In the United States, this decreolization process continued to such an extent that the primary tongue of Afro-Americans is no longer a separate, distinct language. With the probable exception of the Gullah creole of the Sea Islands, our language is a variety of English along a post-creole continuum (Dillard, 1971B). The present speech of many, if not most, Afro-Americans is a dialect of Standard American English (SAE) distinguished by the presence of syntactic, morphological, phonological, lexical, and stylistic features of West African origin. The extent of these African retentions can be seen in a comparison of BVE with the other English-derived Atlantic Creoles (Hancock, 1971; Tables I and II). Thus, Black vernacular English can be identified as one expression of an Afro-American culture, evolved from the survival of African cultural traditions as adapted to conditions in the New World.

TABLE I

PRELIMINARY PHONOLOGICAL COMPARISONS: THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

BVE	JC	KRIO	WES KOS
I. Fricatives			
A. "th" (thin) 1.="f-" initially 2.="f" or "t" medially 3.="f" or "t" finally	Fricatives Absent "th" (thin)="t" or "d" "th" (then) "t" or "d)	Fricatives Absent "th" (thin) = "t" or "d" "th" (then = " " or "d)	Fricatives Absent "th" (thin) = "t", "d" "th" (then) = "f", finally "th" (then)= "d" "th" (then)="f", finally
B. "th-" (then) 1.="d-" initially 2.="d" or "v" medially 3.="v", "f", or "d" finally			
II. Glides			
1. No intervocalic "R"	Information Not Available	No Intervocalic "R"	
2. No post vocalic "R"		No Post vocalic "R"	Postvocalic "R" = "A"
3. No pre consonantal		No pre consonantal "R"	No preconsonantal "R"
4. No final "L"			Final "L" = "u"
5. No "L" before "T", "D" or "P"			

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

BVE	JC	KRIO	WES KOS
III. Nasals			
1. No final "M" or "N"	Information Not Available	Confusion of final nasals	Information Not Available
2. "ng" = "n", medially and finally		"ng" = "n"	
IV. CONSONANT CLUSTERS			
1. Simplification of "-t" & "-d"	Simplification of "-t" & "-d"	Simplification of "-t" & "-d"	Simplification of "-t" & "-d"
2. Simplification of "-s" & "-z", "-ks"	Simplification of "-z" = "ks"	Simplification of "-z" = "ks"	

ABBREVIATIONS AND COUNTRY WHERE SPOKEN

BVE - Black Vernacular English - United States
JC - Jamaican Creole - Jamaica, West Indies
KRIO - Sierra Leone
Wes Kos - West African Pidgin English - Cameroons

SOURCES

BVE:	Baratz, 1973
JC:	Bailey, 1966
KRIO:	Berry, 1961
WES KOS:	Schneider, 1966

TABLE II

PRELIMINARY GRAMMATICAL COMPARISONS

Black Vernacular English	JC	Gullah	Wes Kos
1. Zero Copula "He goin'"	X	X	X
2. Possessive "-z" Absence "John boat"	X	X	X
3. Plural "-z" Absence "Five Cent"	0	X	X
4. Subject Reiteration "Joe, he live here"	0	X	X
5. Failure to Mark Past "Yesterday, she walk home"	X	X	X
6. No Subject-Verb Agreement "She have some toys"	0	X	X
7. Multiple Negation "He don't never go"	X	X	0
8. Undifferentiated Third Person Pronoun	X	X	X

SYMBOLS: X = Present 0 = Information Not Available

ABBREVIATIONS AND COUNTRY WHERE SPOKEN

Black vernacular English - United States
JC - Jamaican Creole - Jamaica, West Indies
Gullah - Sea Islands off Georgia and South Carolina, U.S.A.
Wes Kos - West African Pidgin English - Cameroons

SOURCES

BVE: Baratz, 1973
JC: Bailey, 1966
Gullah: Turner, 1949
Wes Kos: Schneider, 1966

II. The Anglytic Dimension

Language can be analysed with respect to its syntax, phonology, and lexicon. Due to my limited knowledge of linguistics, the following is merely a general survey of the components of Black Vernacular English.[1]

As indicated above, BVE is a dialect of SAE; thus, the majority of its grammatical, phonological, and lexical features coincide with those of SAE. However, there are several important areas in which features of BVE are in conflict with features of SAE: these features are summarized in Tables I and II. Comparisons with other English-derived Atlantic creoles, also shown in the table, show that many of these features are also present in Jamaican creole, Krio, West African Pidgin English, and Gullah indicating strong common antecedents in the languages of West Africa.[2]

The most readily identifiable distinctive phonological features of BVE occur in the Consonant System (Baratz, 1973). BVE, like other English-derived Atlantic creoles, does not contain Fricatives. "th-" is usually replaced by "d-", "t-", or "f-". BVE also does not contain inter-vocalic or post-vocalic "r". Thus "carrot" and "cart" become "cat" and "cot". Among the nasal consonants "m" and "n" do not always occur in the final position and "ng" is replaced by "n" both in the medial and final positions. Plosives tend to be devoiced in the final position thus "rib" = "rip" and "kid" = "kit". "R" disappears in initial consonant clusters, and final consonant clusters (particularly 't, 'd, 's, 'z) are simplified.

Other phonological distinctions have been asserted, although all have not as yet been scientifically validated. Brown (1973) and Baird (1973) contend that stress, intonation and voice timbre have important functions in BVE, as they do in West African and Atlantic creole languages. Mitchell-Kiernan (1969) bears this contention out somewhat by research indicating that Black respondents report audible distinctions in BVE (grammar and lexicon aside) which they were unable to explicitly define.

Probably the most unique syntactic feature of BVE is the absence of the copula in the present tense, i.e. "He goin'". Zero copula is also prominent in West African and Atlantic creole languages. Many linguists assert that the absence of the copula in the present tense indicates different verbal conjugations for BVE denoting aspect as well as tense. For example "He readin'" means "He is reading now," while "He be readin'" means "He reads continually or regularly" (Fasold, 1969). This form of conjugation also seems to be of West African origin.

Other grammatical distinctions of BVE include the absence of the possessive "-z" (John' boat); the absence of the plural "-z" (five cent); multiple negation (He ain't never goin'); subject reiteration (John, he play the horn); failure to distinguish the past tense (Yesterday, John walk home); lack of subject-verb agreement (I goes, He run); and undifferentiation of third person pronouns (he a woman doctor). Many of these features are also present in various West African and Atlantic creole languages as shown in Table I.

The vocabulary of "Spoken Soul" is also an important part of Afro-American self-definition. The Black community constantly evolves new expressions of its collective reality. Dictionaries of BVE are outdated almost as soon as they appear or as soon as the terms become adopted for general use by the dominant society. Despite this, David Dalby (1[illegible]) has followed Lorenzo Turner's (1949) pioneering work and traced the etymology of several hundred words of present or past Afro-American usage to the Niger-Congo languages of Mandingo, Wolof, Akan, and Hausa.

The Black community also relates lexical distinctions to collective values. Kochman (1973) reports that Blacks give positive meaning to words connoting actual or potential movement ("hip" or "wheels"), while giving negative status to words implying stasis ("lame" or "square").

In summary, the distinctive phonological, syntactic, and lexical features common to Black Vernacular English, traceable to West African origin, definitively indicate that BVE is a separate dialect of SAE, not an aberration.

III. The Functional Dimension:

The use and function of language in the Black community is as unique, if not more so, than the structural distinctions of BVE. The Euro-American community has relied on the written word to carry on its heritage. African tradition gives language the function of transmitting history and culture from one generation to the next. The power of the word, Nommo, is central to the African world view (Jahn, 1961). This heritage of oral communication has survived and continues in Afro-American use and expression of language. In the Afro-American community, considerable emphasis is placed on the development of verbal skills. Increasing expertise in such Black activities as rappin', loud-talkin', jivin', and play' the dozens is an essential part of the socialization process of Black children. As Vivien Young's (1970) study points out, this process occurs largely within the peer group. Abrahams (1972C) finds this reminiscent of African and West Indian age-grading.

As said above, oral communication was and is an essential component of African culture. The African heritage of the Black American community can be seen in the survival of characteristics of oral communication. Basics of Afro-American verbal development include improvisation, rhythmic repetition, music-like variation of intonation and stress, call and response interaction with the peer group, and the use of concrete expressions of reality to relate the basic assumptions of the people (Smitherman, 1973). Further evidence of the centrality and cohesiveness of the African world view is demonstrated in the survival of similar characteristics in other Afro-American behavioral modes. Improvisation, repetition, variation, and call and response are also essential components of Afro-American music, dance, and even food preparation (Walton, 1972; Jahn, 1961; McGann, 1974).

IV. The Social Dimension

Having viewed BVE historically, analytically. and functionally, it is necessary to examine BVE in terms of the fourth dimension--social implications of Black Vernacular English. In regard to this dimension, two major issues beg clarification: 1) "Who speaks Black English?", or to what extent are the characteristics delineated above applicable to the Afro-American population in the United States; and 2) "So what?", or does the existence of BVE have any effect on the relationship between the Black community and the larger society.

Before addressing either issue, it must first be stated that there is no determinative relationship between one's biological identity and one's spoken language. The speech patterns of any people are a function of their enculturation and individual expressions. Black Vernacular English is a dialect along a post-creole continuum. This continuum ranges from an extreme basilect. (Furthest removed from SAE, with the highest of African retention/adaptations) to the acrolect (virtually indistinguishable from SAE). The idiolect (individual expressions) of any Afro-American falls somewhere along this continuum.

Recent studies have shown most members of the Black community to speak BVE to some degree, but the degree is in large part determined by social class. Wolfram (1970) found that although there was only gradient stratification between middle and working class blacks in the absence of post vocalic "r", there was sharp differentiation in the absence of third person singular "-z". Abrahams (1972) discovered variation with regard to the emphasis on verbal skill development on the basis of class status. Nevertheless, most reports indicate that adherence to Black cultural and language patterns occurs throughout the Afro-American community, with some differentiation according to social stratification.

The question remains, What are the implications of BVE for the Black community's relationship with the larger society? Specifically, what are the implications of BVE with regard to governmentally designed and/or implemented policies and programs affecting Black children?

In response to the intensified movement of Black people, intervention programs were conceptualized in an attempt to alleviate the disparity between Blacks and whites in this country. In the areas of children and language development, programs such as Operation Headstart were devised to correct the 'verbal and cognitive deficiencies' of 'culturally deprived' Black children: labels assigned them on the basis of low performance on standardized tests (Baratz, 1973). However, recent reports indicate that many of the intervention programs were ineffective past the conclusion of the program; Black children still score low on standardized tests. The failure of programs to significantly increase Black children's scores on standardized tests has seen a number of theorists return to perpetuation of contehtions of the inherent genetic inferiority of Black people (Jensen, 1969, 1973).

Though the intervention programs of the 1960's focused long overdue social attention to the Black community, little consideration was given to the highly ethnocentric character of this attention. For example, Stanford University social scientists had adapted the Binet Intelligence Quotient in light of "American" social realities. However, this adaptation, using SAE and middle class cultural items as determining criterion, did not take cognizance of the multi-cultural nature of American society. Instead, an underlying assumption of the universality of white middle class norms was made. The inferiority of Afro-American culture and patterns of behavior was not only implied but was considered an aberration of the white middle class norm (Johnson and Johnson, 1973). From the results of this and other standardized tests, Child Welfare agencies undertook a structured effort to bring Black children up to par, forcing them into an alien cultural norm. Given the ethnocentric nature of the testing materials, little could be expected from policies devised from biased test results, and subsequent programs designed and implemented.

The study of BVE has produced an alternative perspective for evaluating Black children's performance on standardized examinations. There is a correlation between the "interference" of certain BVE features with those of SAE and the low scores of Black children in standardized exams. Research by Jean Baratz indicates that on a test controlling for dialect differences, the difference between Black and white children's scores disappears (Baratz, 1973). In "The Logic of Nonstandard English", William Labov (1970) demonstrates the ability of BVE speakers to express abstract concepts logically, and in fact better than the expressions of some middle class subject.

BVE does not hinder cognitive ability; it is merely expressed in a different manner. Thus, the need for recognizing the existence of BVE (and other Afro-American cultural expressions) in the design of policies and programs is readily apparent.

Cognizance of the existence and interference patterns of BVE is particularly necessary in the design and implementation of the nation's most extensive governmental program affecting Black children, the educational system. SAE reading programs are the foundation of the American educational system. In a recent article Labov (1967) shows how and where BVE interferes with Black children's perception of the written word. Where a SAE-speaking child sees "cart", "going" and "Jerry's tie" and pronounces them according to SAE rules, the BVE-speaking child pronounces them "cat", "goin'", and "Jerry tie" -- all perfectly consistent with BVE grammatical structure.

A problem equally as significant as BVE "interferences" is the perception of BVE held by the majority of the nation's teachers. Many teachers view BVE as an illogical inferior aberraion of SAE. Not knowing the conflict areas between BVE and SAE, they wrongly conclude that Black children can not read when they pronounce "cold" as "code" or "these" as "dese", and place them in slow-learning classes. Oft-times a teacher's attitudes of superiority will be transmitted to the student, thinking his language and therefore himself, inferior. Knowledge of the existence of BVE, its validity, its history, its interference areas, and techniques of teaching SAE to BVE-speaking children should constitute an essential part of the curriculum facing future teachers. Several educators, notably Allen (1969, 1970), Imhoof (1971) and Rubinett (1970), have advocated such curricula and several universities have begun to implement them.

Many solutions to the educational problems posed by BVE have been proposed, from the complete rejection of teaching SAE to Black children to conducting instruction in the primary grades in BVE. The first is illogical, competence in SAE is necessary to function in today's society; and the second is unfeasible -- very few teachers know or speak BVE and a total restructuring of the educational system is not possible in the immediate future.

However, there are alternatives which are feasible and necessary for the future of Black children. Teachers, social workers, counselors, and/or other agents directly relating to the welfare of Black children should receive training in the history, structure and function of language in the Black community. The East Texas Dialect Project (Glavan and Troike, 1969), a cooperative effort of linguists and educators can serve as a model for such training. Linguistically trained field workers surveyed the community to uncover the phonological, syntactic, and lexical components of the speech of Blacks and whites in the area. This yielded a profile of the linguistic variation of the community. The profile constituted the basis for intensive three week workshops coordinated by the linguists for teachers and school administrators. The teachers and administrators received training in the history and structure of dialects found in the community, as well as on the cultural expressions of the Black and Chicano communities. They, in turn, incorporated their knowledge on linguistic and cultural variation into their professional responsibilities within the school system. Teachers and administrators reported greater rapport with students and an improved learning atmosphere. Programs such as the East Texas Dialect Project could and should be conducted throughout the country. These programs could acquaint educators and other professional people relating to the welfare of Black children with the language and culture of the children they are serving.

In comclusion, there exists a distinctive dialect, Black Vernacular English, containing grammatical, lexical and functional features of African origin as adapted to Afro-American conditions. The recognition, acceptance, and incorporation of this dialect and of all facets of Afro-American culture is essential to prevent the failure of programs and policies which are designed for and/or affect the welfare of Black children.

FOOTNOTES

1. Primary sources used for this section include: Baratz, 1973; Dillard, 1972; Kochman, 1973; and Labov, 1972.

2. Lorenzo Turner, in his Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect (1949) traces Gullah features to various West African languages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. The Historical Dimensions: The Evolution of Black Vernacular English

II. The Analytic Dimension: The Structure of Black Vernacular English

III. The Functional Dimension: The Usage of Black Vernacular English

IV. The Social Dimension: Implications for Child Welfare

I. The Historical Dimension: The Evolution of Black Vernacular English

Aarons, Alfred; Barbara Gordon and William Stewart, eds.
1969 "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education," *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

Alleyne, Mervyn
1971 "Acculturation and the Cultural Matrix of Creolization" in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Bailey, Beryl
1965 "Towards A New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology, *American Speech*. Vol. 40, pp. 171-177.

1966 *Jamaican Creole Syntax: A Transformational Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1971 "Jamaican Creole: Can Dialect Boundaries Be Defined?" in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Baratz, Joan C.
1973 "Language Abilities of Black Americans" in *Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States*. Ed. by K. Miller and R. Dreger. New York: Seminar Press.

Berry, J.
1961 "English Loan-words and Adaptations in Sierra Leone Krio" in *Proceedings of the Conference on Caribbean Studies*. Ed. by R.B. LePage. Creole Language Studies II, London: McMillan.

Cassidy, Frederic
1971 "Tracing the Pidgin Element in Jamaican Creole" in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Dalby, David
1970 *Black Through White: Patterns of Communication in Africa and the New World*. Hans Wolff Memorial Lecture, 1969. African Studies Program, Indiana University.

1972 "The African Element in American English" in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America*. Ed. by Thomas Kochman. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

DeCamp, David
1971a "Introduction: The Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages" in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

1971b "Toward a Generative Analysis of a Post-Creole Speech Continuum" in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Dillard, J.L.

1968 "Negro Nonstandard Dialects -- Convergence or Divergence," Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 6, No. 2.

1971a "Creole Portuguese and Creole English: The Early Records," CAAS Papers in Linguistics. No. 3. Center for African and Afro-American Studies, Atlanta University.

1971b "The Creolist and the Study of Negro Nonstandard English in the Continental United States" in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

1972 Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States. New York: Random House (Particularly, Chapter III -- A Sketch of the History of Black English).

Fasold, Ralph

1972 "Decreolization and Autonomous Language Change," Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 10, Nos. 1 & 2.

Greenberg, Joseph

1966 The Languages of Africa. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Hall, Robert A. Jr.

1950 "The African Substratum in Negro English," American Speech. Vol. XXV, No. 1.

Hancock, Ian

1971 "A Provisional Comparison of the English Derived Atlantic Creoles" (Summary of) in Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Ed. by D. Hymes. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

1972 "A Domestic Origin for the Atlantic Derived Creoles," Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 10, No. 1 & 2.

Herskovits, Melville J.

1941 The Myth of the Negro Past. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hymes, Dell

1966 Ed. Language in Culture and Society. New York: Harper and Row.

1971 Ed. Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Long, Richard
1970 "Towards a Theory of Afro-American Dialects," *CAAS Papers in Linguistics*. No. 1. Center for African and Afro-American Studies, Atlanta University.

1971 "From Africa to the New World: the Linguistic Continuum," *CAAS Papers in Linguistics*. No. 3. Center for African and Afro-American Studies, Atlanta University.

Matthews, M.M.
1948 *Some Sources of Southernisms*. University of Alabama Press. (Particularly Chapter 3, "Africanisms in the Plantation Vocabulary).

McDavid, R.I., Jr. and McDavid, V.G.
1951 "The Relationship of the Speech of American Negroes to the Speech of Whites," *American Speech*. Vol. 26.

Schneider, Gilbert D.
1966 *West African Pidgin English*. Privately published. Athens, Ohio.

1967 "West African Pidgin-English: A Historical Overview," *Papers in International Studies*. No. 8. Center for International Studies. Ohio University.

1973 "West African Pidgin English -- An Overview: Phonology-Morphology" in *Black Language Reader*. Ed. by R. Bentley and S. Crawford. Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman & Co.

Stewart, William
1967 "Sociolinguistic Factors in the History of American Negro Dialects," *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 5, No. 2.

1968 "Continuity and Change in American Negro Dialects," *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 6, No. 1.

1970 "Historical and Structural Bases for the Recognition of Negro Dialect" in *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Turner, Lorenzo D.
1949 *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thompson, R.W.
1961 "A Note on Some Possible Affinities between the Creole Dialects of the Old World and Those of the New" in *Proceedings of the Conference on Creole Studies*. Ed. by R.B. LePage. Creole Language Studies II. London: McMillan & Co.

II. The Analytic Dimension: The Structure of Black Vernacular English

Alatis, James A.
1970 Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Anshen, Frank
1972 "Some Statistical Bases for the Existence of Black English. Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 19-20.

Baird, Keith
1973 "Black Vernacular English." Seminar Sixth Annual Center for African and Afro-American Studies Conference. December 8, 1973.

Baratz, Joan C.
1973 "Language Abilities of Black Americans" in Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States. Ed. by K. Miller and M. Dreger. New York: Seminar Press.

Brown, Claude
1968 "The Language of Soul" in Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America. Ed. by Thomas Kochman. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Claerbaut, David
1972 Black Jargon in White America. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eermans Publishing Co.

Dalby, David
1972 "The African Element in American Speech" in Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America. Ed. by Thomas Kochman. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Dillard, J.L.
1972 Black English: Its History and Usage in the United States. New York: Random House (Particularly Chapter II -- On the Structure of Black English).

Fasold, Ralph
1969 "Tense and the Form be in Black English," Language. Vol. 45, No. 4, pp. 763-776.

1970 "Distinctive Linguistic Characteristics of Black English" in Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects. Ed. by James A. Alatis. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1970.

1972 *Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis.* Washington, D.C. Center for Applied Linguistic

Holt, Grace Sims
1971 "Inversion in Black Communication" in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America.* Ed. by Thomas Kochman. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Kochman, Thomas
1972a *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America.* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

1972b "The Kinetic Element in Black Idiom" in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication In Urban Black America.* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972a.

Labov, William
1972a *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

1972b *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Stewart, William
1970 "Historical and Structural Bases for the Recognition of Negro Dialect" in *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standar English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects.* Ed. by James A. Alatis. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics.* No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970.

Wolfram, Walter A.
1970 "Linguistic Correlates of Social Differences in the Negro Community" in *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects.* Ed. by James A. Alatis. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics.* No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press,

1971 "Black-White Speech Differences Revisited," *Viewpoints.* Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 27-50.

III. The Functional Dimension: The Uses of Black Vernacular English

Aarons, Alfred, Barbara Gordon and William Stewart, Eds.
1969 *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education. Florida FL Reporter* Vol. 7, No. 1.

Abrahams, Roger
1969 "Black Talk and Black Education" in "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education." Ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue). *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

1972a and R.C. Troike, Eds. *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

1972b "Joking: The Training of the Man of Words in Talking Broad" in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America*. Ed. by Thomas Kochman. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

1972a "Talking My Talk: Black English and Social Segmentation in Black Communities." *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 10, No. 1-2.

Bailey, Beryl
1969 "Language and Communicative Styles of Afro-American Children in the United States" in "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education." Ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue) *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

Jahn, Janheinz
1961 *Muntu: An Outline of the New African Culture*. New York: Grove Press.

McCann, C. Steven
1974 "The Cultural Implications of African-American Dietary Habits for Child Welfare Programs and Policies." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of Council on Social Work Education, Atlanta, Georgia.

Mitchell-Kernan, Claudia
1969 *Language Behavior in a Black Urban Community*. Language Behavior Research Laboratory Monograph 2. University of California, Berkeley.

1972 "Signifying, Loud-Talking, and Marking" in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America*. Ed. by Thomas Kochman. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1972.

Smitherman, Geneva
1973 "White English in Blackface or, Who Do I Be?" *Black Scholar*. Vol. 4, No. 8-9.

Walton, Ortiz
1972 *Music: Black White and Blue*. New York: William Morrow & Co.

Young, Virginia
1970 "Family and Childhood in a Southern Georgia Community," *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 72.

IV. The Social Dimension: Implications for Child Welfare

Aarons, Alfred, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart
1969 *Linguistic-Cultural Differences in American Education. Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

Abrahams, Roger
1972 "Talking my Talk: Black English and Social Stratification in Black Communities," *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 10, No. 1-2.

Alatis, James A.
1970 *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages and Dialects. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics.* No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Allen, Virginia F.
1969 "Teaching English as a Second Dialect" in "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education." Ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue) *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

1970 "A Second Dialect in Not a Foreign Language" in *Linguistic and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects*. Ed. by James A. Alatis. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970.

Baratz, Joan C.
1969 with Stephen Baratz. "Negro Ghetto Children and Urban Education: A Cultural Solution" in "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education." Ed. by Alfred Aarons Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue) *Florida FL Reporter*. Vol. 7, No. 1.

1970 "Teaching Reading in an Urban Negro School System" in *Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme*. Ed. by Frederic Williams. Chicago: Markham Press, 1970.

1973 "Language Abilities of Black Americans' in *Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States*. Ed. by Miller and Dreger. New York: Syracuse Press.

Cassidy, Frederic G.
1970 "Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Creole in Jamaica, West Indies" in *Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects*. Ed. by James A. Alatis. *Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics*. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970.

Crystal, Daisy
1972 "Dialect Mixture and Sorting Out the Concept of Freshman English Remediation," Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 10, No. 1-2.

Dobhansky, Theodosius
1973 "Differences are not Deficits," Psychology Today. Decembe

Fishman, Joshua A.
1968 Readings in the Sociology of Language. Mouton: The Hague.

Galvan, Mary and Rudolph Troike
1969 "The East Texas Dialect Project: A Pattern for Education" in "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education," Ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue). Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 7, No. 1.

Haugen, Einar
1968 "Language Planning in Modern Norway" in Readings in the Sociology of Language. Ed. by Joshua Fishman. Mouton: The Hague, 1968.

Hess, Karen
1972 "Is Learning a Standard English Important? An Overview," Florida FL Reporter. Vol. 10, No. 1-2.

Imhoof, Maurice
1971 "The Preparation of Language Arts Teachers for Ghetto Schools," Viewpoints. Vol. 47, No. 2.

Jensen, Arthur
1969 "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement," Harvard Educational Review.

1973 "The Differences Are Real," Psychology Today. December.

Johnson, Kenneth R.
1969 "Pedagogical Problems of Using Second Language Techniques for Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Nonstandard Negro Dialect" in Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects. Ed. by James A. Alatis. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1970.

1971 "Should Black Children Learn Standard English," Viewpoints Vol. 47, No. 2.

Johnson, Roosevelt and Willa D. Johnson
1973 "Testing, Labeling and Classification: Six Major Issues Facing Blacks." Unpublished paper presented at the Black Child Development Institute's Annual Meeting, December, 1973.

Kochman, Thomas

1969 "Culture and Communication: Implications For Black English in the Classroom" in "Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education", ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue) Florida FL Reporter, vol. 7, No. 1.

Labov, William

1967 "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Speakers of the Black English Vernacular" in New Directions in Elementary English, ed. by A. Frazier. Champaign, Ill. National Council of Teachers of English.

1969 "A Note on the Relation of Reading Failure to Peer Group Status in Urban Ghettoes" in Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education", ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue) Florida FL Reporter, vol. 7, No. 1.

1970 "The Logic of Nonstandard English" in Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects, edited by J. Alatis, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

1972 Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Robinett, Betty W.

1970 "Teacher Training for English as a Second Dialect and English as a Second Language: The Same or Different?" in Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects, ed. by James A. Alatis. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. No. 22, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1970

Stewart, William

1969 "Urban Negro Speech-Sociolinguistic Factors Affecting English Teaching" in Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education", ed. by Alfred Aarons, Barbara Gordon, and William Stewart. (Special Anthology Issue) Florida FL Reporter, vol. 7, No. 1.

UNESCO

1953 "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education: The Report of the UNESCO Meeting of Specialists" in Fishman, 1968.

Williams, Frederic

1970 ed. Language and Poverty: Perspectives on a Theme, Chicago: Markham Press.

Wolfram, Walter

1970 "Linguistic Correlates of Social Differences in the Negro Community?, in Linguistics and the Teaching of Standard English to Speakers of Other Languages or Dialects, edited by J. Alatis, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Cultural Implications of African-American Dietary Habits On Child Welfare Programs and Policies

A significant aspect of the culture of Black people in the United States can be found in the preferences, preparation and atmosphere of food consumption. African cultural tradition in conjunction with physical and societal forces have become contributing factors in the formation and expression of an African-American dietary cultural mode.

A major determinant of a group's culture is their environment. In societies without highly mechanized means of production, i.e. less industrialized and technological, ecological forces were primarily responsible for placing constraints upon the components of cultural expression, but as societies became more intricate, the number of constraints increased proportionally. The accentuation of political, economic and social pressures, especially in this complex form, exhibited greater influence upon the manifestation of the expressive modes of culture. The form in which culture is behaviorally expressed becomes susceptible to two factors: the availability of natural resources and the complexity of modern societal formulations, i.e. Geselishaft. The latter having an acute impact as groups interacted and power relationships determined inter group influences.

The culture of Black people in the United States, as that of all people whose ancestry is found on the African continent, contains numerous reflections of our original heritage. It is from the African ethos, in symbiosis with the Black American experience, that the cultural tradition or world view of African-Americans is derived. The expressive modes of African-American culture are not only influenced by the availability and accessibility of natural resources but also by our political, economic and social status in the United States. The complexities arising from the interaction of these overlapping diverse variables predict that the expression of cultural behavioral modes will differ in form than the expression of the original mode found on the African continent. However, the spiritual and emotional perspective can and does remain intact for its African-American offspring. The ensuing result is the realization that the expression of culture in any behavioral mode can and is adapted to the environment and that mode adaptations are predicated on the circumstances or the expressions. The adaptation of culturally expressive behavioral modes are merely alterations of the original mode from the cultural foundation. The altering, as opposed to the elimination of the expression affirms the continuity of the cultural origins.

The cultural expression of African-American dietary habits, as noted earlier, is rooted in the continent of Africa. This expression not only encompasses food preferences but also includes the preparation of meals and the atmosphere in which food is consumed. Though the African slave trade touched all regions of the continent, Black people in the United States are predominantly descendants of those ethnic groups which lived in the Guinea Coast or west region of Africa. The food preferences of West Africans stemmed from the availability and proliferation of certain foodstuffs within their geographic location. In West Africa there exists a heavy concentration of cereals and starchy roots, a large quantity of vegetables and legumes, and an ample supply of spices.

In the area of cereals, four basic crops are grown in the region with several other varieties cultivated in lesser amounts.[1] The primary grains are guineacorn, bulrush millet, maize and rice, while the minor crops are fonio or late millet and finger millet. Wheat, barley and oats are also grown in this region but the presence of these grains is a result of European influence and are relatively new to the environment.[2]

Of the starchy roots grown in West Africa, there is a preponderance of several varieties of yams grown intermittantly throughout the region. The more prevalent types being the white yam, yellow yam, water yam, Chinese yam, bulb-bearing yam and the three-leaved yam. Interestingly, the yellow yam was introduced to Africa by Portuguese traders centuries ago.[3]

Other starchy roots grown in West Africa are cassava, bitter and sweet, fra-fra potatoes, sweet potatoes and ginger. Major vegetables of the region are okra, known as gumbo, eggplant, tomatoes, squash, cucumbers, muskmelons and watermelons. There is a substantial number of peppers grown in the area, including red peppers or cayenne, green peppers, Benin pepper, which comes in two forms, black and white, and Guinea pepper.

A wide variety of legumes are also found in West Africa. These primarily consist of lima beans, cow peas, known in America as black-eyed peas, pigeon peas, lab-lab beans, sword beans, locust beans, bambara groundnuts and peanuts. Haricot beans or navy beans are grown extensively in areas which were subject to the influences of the French.

The common meats used to accompnay root and vegetable crops were poultry, beef, pork and fish. It is also not unusual for other local animals such as rodents to be used as a meat product.

The manner in which food is prepared is also an expression of the African cultural tradition. Food, usually fried, boiled or baked, is preferred thoroughly cooked. Meat products are never served "rare" nor are vegetables eaten "par-boiled" or stiff. The items to be eaten are not served individually nor separated on a plate but instead covered with a sauce in a fashion reminiscent of stew.

The atmosphere of consumption generated by Africans during meal times is indicative of their perceptions of reality, value orientations and roles in the universe. Such elements, as noted earlier, are the foundations of culture. The absence of a division of items on meal dishes is consistent with the African conception of life as the intergradation of all things in the universe. In short everything is a part of everything else. Nothing exists autonomously but rather in conjunction with other entities. The sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man and the spirits are one.[4]

> To Africans, the spiritual world is so real and near, its forces intertwining and inspiring the visable world that, whether pagan or Christian, man has to reckon with "things invisable to mortal sight"[5]

The continual linkage of all substances creates a circular perception of reality. African peoples' reality is perceived in circles or 360 degrees, as opposed to distinct separations like which are found in parallel lines or 180 degrees.

Individualism as understood and practised in the Western world does not carry an inherent value in the culture of African peoples. Rather, a communalistic value premise prevailed. This does not negate that prior to European influences there existed inter-group rivalries, warfare, domination and expansionism in Africa. However, African communalism esteems common values and one finds in the face of diverse ethnic groupings, a common continental perspective regarding the values of the racial group.[6] One finds in Africa, varied but consistant mores dictating that all should/must share in the benefits of the land, and that no one is omitted except in specific circumstances when tribal laws are breached and even this is not a general occurance.[7]

The style in which Africans eat, today as well as in the past, exemplifies this attitude towards sharing and being together. Food is served in bowls, instead of personal plates with groups dining out of a shared bowl. In many areas there is sexual segregation during meal times but even these groupings eat in a communal fashion. The serving of food covered with a sauce or gravy ensure all members of the family, immediate or extended, the availability of food and the ability to eat. This occurred because the stew-like form extended the serving capacity of the meal and guaranteed everyone could partake in all the ingredients of the meal. Even if there were only one chicken in the pot and you did not get a piece of the fowl, you did at least taste it because of its presence in the dish.

The culturally expressive nature of food, preferences, preparation and atmosphere of consumption, continued to survive as Africans found themselves displaced in the Americas. The political, economic and social environment in the New World coupled with the non-existance of certain foodstuffs caused alterations in the food forms used, but the fundamental relationship of Africans to their dietary habits remained intact. We continued to demonstrate a partiality for cereal and starch based foods, created by the African ecological environment by developing new food forms based upon those taste preferences. Hoe cakes, which were taken down to the field workers who were "hoeing," hush puppies, which were made of corn and thrown to the hounds to keep them quiet, and johnny cakes are but a few examples of slave creativity based upon African ancestry.[8] This relationship to our African dietary habits encompasses the value orientations as well as taste preferences.

The variation in climate, local and prevalent food forms did not alter the fraternal spirit of the Black atmosphere of food consumption. "Pot likker," which is the juices from a huge pot of greens, was, and in many homes still is, a favorite dish not only because of its delicious taste but also because of the way it was often eaten. On Sundays and on festive occasions, folks would gather around the pot with spoon in hand and together dip into the scrumptious delights.[9] The laughter, good times and congregation all worked to make this a special kind of dish.

This was not the only incidence of the cultural continuum of the African concept of sharing nor was it the only surviving characteristic of the African communalistic spirit. This deep-rooted value was exhibited repeatedly throughout the slave era. The recollections of Cato, an ex-slave from South Carolina, provides a vivid example of this spirit.

> Other plantations half-starved their niggers and 'lowanced out their eating till they weren't fitting for work. They had to slip about to niggers on other places to piece out their meals. They had field calls and other whoops and hollars what had meaning to them.[10]

Black people were almost universally forced to subsist on meager unfilling diets, but yet we were still able to ensure that all of our people were fed. The commitment to provide for the welfare of all Black people is only matched by the sophistication of the ingenuity which devised a system to fulfill this purpose. Here we find African descendants trapped in an environment of social degradation, surrounded by a people whose value orientations were significantly different than their own, and denied avenues to self-determination and yet, withstanding all of those external pressures, the basic elements of culture remained intact: A strong indication that culture is something more than those things one can readily observe but it exists in the depths of a being's soul and in the collective spirit of a people.

The diet of slaves in most instances was beyond their immediate total control. The slave menu largely consisted of meal, vegetables in season, plus meat when possible which was generally pork and sometimes wild game. In addition to the foods that were allotted, some slaves could etch out meager supplemental foodstuffs on small plots of land or through their own resourcefulness and ingenuity. After emancipation, white control over eating habits did not subside as the former slave became a tenant farmer and the ex-master assumed the role of landlord. This alteration in title did little to change the relationship between the two groups. Many of the foodstuffs available to Black sharecroppers came from the store of the landlord, who true to form supplied items as during formal slavery.

At this point, it must be re-emphasized that the methods used in the preparation of food did not alter and the predilection for frying, boiling and baking foods until thoroughly cooked continued to flourish throughout the African experience in America, just as in Africa. During an investigation of dietary patterns of Blacks in Alabama conducted in 1895, the propensities of these three methods were clearly noted.

> the daily fare is prepared in very simple ways. Corn meal is mixed with water and baked on the flat surface of a hoe or griddle. The salt pork is sliced thin and fried until very brown and much of the grease fried out. ...Hot water sweetened with molssses is used as a beverage.[11]

Prior to the late 19th century, it was necessary for African-Americans to eat certain kinds of food, in order to survive. As Black people became more economically solvent this necessity began to diminish and menus were expanded to include other items. This greater monetary freedom did not mean less economic dependence but it did precipitate the development of class structures based upon fiscal income. However, this division of the Black community did not alter the basic dietary patterns for the habitual consumption of these foods had become tradition and tradition is the mechanism by which culturally expressive behavioral modes perpetuate themselves. Thus, just as in Africa where social and ecological forces conditioned the manner in which the indigenous population developed taste preferences, societal forces in America dictated the adaptation of taste preferences brought from the continent and translated through the slave experience.

The constant use of traditional foods and cooking methods did not cease even after classes in the Black community became increasingly stratified. The class-transcendent nature of Black dietary patterns has been documented on three separate occasions and each time similar findings have been observed.[12] The first of these surveys occurred in the mid-1890's, the second in 1959 and the third in 1974. In each instance, studies indicated that regardless of social and economic class standings, Black families demonstrated similar taste preferences, cooking methods and general atmospheric conditions for food and that greater monetary freedom allows increased supplemental foods but the new foodstuffs and cooking styles were only additions, not replacements.

In addition to the data from these studies there are many familiar occurences within the Black community that tend to substantiate the findings of the three surveys. The studies were based in the South but in 1943 Clementine Paddleford noted:

> What's cooking in Harlem? Pig snouts and collards, pig tails and poke greens, neck Bones and Virginia collard, pig's feet and mustard greens.[13]

Black dietary patterns have changed little and one would not be surprised of hearing, as far as food is concerned, that Harlem at 1943 is no different than Harlem, Hough, Anacostia, Watts and Buttermilk Bottom of 1974. It is not uncommon for members of upper-class Black families with the resources for greater dietary latitude to make frequent sojourns to the local "soul-food" restaurant down the hill. In addition, one can drop in on almost any Black family on New Year's Day and be treated to a rousing helping of pig feet, candied yams, collards, black-eyed peas or many other forms of slave cuisine. It should be interjected that Black food patterns are not limited to the constant use of certain commodities. An "Irish Stew" or spaghetti become transformed as the Black cook adds an extra dash of peppers and/or other seasonings to give it a just right taste.

There is a direct link between the culinary tastes of Africa and Africans in the diaspora. This link goes beyond the utilization and preferences for certain foodstuffs to include the manner of preparation and means of consumption. Most importantly, the custom in which Black people eat illustrates in very subtle and in very conspicuous ways our African cultural heritage. An understanding of Black dietary patterns gives one insights into the values of our people and the nature of the oppression Black people were and are forced to endure, but even more significant than this, it reflects the strength and desire to survive and continue one's own lifestyle. The bombardment by physical and societal environmental forces has caused alterations in the manner of the expression of cultural modes but these forces could not squelch the fervor of the basic elements of African culture. A culture so pervasive it has withstood the pressures of a society which is inherently inculcating. A society which prides itself in its "melting pot" tendencies but fortunately, the heat of the American kitchen is not intense enough to dissolve the tenacity of Black culture.

The ramifications of food as a reflection of the cultural heritage and an indicator of the adaptations behaviorally expressed cultural modes have undergone since Black people have been in the Americas is quite clear. The question at hand is: What are the implications of the expression of food as an African-American cultural mode to child welfare programs and policies?

Child welfare programs encompass a wide area of activity ranging from day-care centers, nurseries, Head-start programs to the public school systems. An exceedingly large number of Black children are incorporated daily in one or more of these institutions. Yet, the amount of Black cultural input into the policy-making areas of these organizations does not equal our intense participation in these programs. This lack of concern or rather, lack of will to investigate methods to ensure greater Black cultural inclusion is extremely detrimental to the well-being of Black children. The public school system's nutrition policies is but one example of the laissez-faire attitude of administrators towards Black culture.

The free lunch and breakfast programs found nationally in public schools reach thousands of Black children daily. The intent of these programs is not being castigated but the manner in which they are executed and the possible effects upon Black children must be scrutinized.

The federal government has subsidized school lunch programs since the passage of the National School Lunch Act of 1946. This act has been amended several times to broaden its effectiveness but the administration of the program has been left unchanged. In order for a school district to receive funds to subsidize nutrition programs it must follow guidelines prescribed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture not only determines the monies expended but also the nature of the menu to be served and the recipes for the preparation of food. Since the programs are designed to reach all children in the United States little attention if any is given to the needs and desires of some of the children.

This situation usually means that Black children must experience preferences and methods of preparation that are unfamiliar to their lifestyles. Even when latitude is given on the nature of the commodities used there are still constraints upon seasoning use or other methods of cooking meals. The end result is that you still do not eat what you are accustomed to eating at home.

An unfamiliar atmosphere can become hostile as one must daily grip with an envirnoment that is not satisfying nor receptive to one's personal needs. School becomes a place where not only does the curriculum do little to reflect your culture but you cannot even find a reflection of yourself in the food you are forced to eat. The next stage is then, why perform to your full potential when this isn't even about you or for that matter why bother to go? Though the focus of this discussion has centered on the relation of public schools to nutrition policies, it is also applicable to any other social agency which incorporates Black children and does not intensively seek to embody matters which are relevant to the existence of Black people

The remedy to this problem is not found in changing the menus of Black children at school or any other agency. The answer is not to give a more "soulful" flavor, but to begin to understand the nature of culture and its importance to the people in which it lives. Keeping in mind the circular perception of reality by peoples of African heritage, an effort must be made to incorporate all facets of Black culture simultaneously.

Culture must be conceived as something more than the exhibition of certain characteristics in expressive modes, but instead as the embodiment of the spiritual forces of a people. Culture is the immortal soul of a race breathing life into its members.

FOOTNOTES

1. Thomas S. Githens and Carroll E. Wood Jr., *The Food Resources of Africa*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943) p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

4. Edwin W. Smith, *African Ideas of God*, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1950) p. 13.

5. Geoffrey Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion*, (London: Hutchinsons University Library, 1954) p. 10.

6. C.T. Loram, "Our Cultural Heritage," *Thinking with Africa*, (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada) p. 20.

7. M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

8. Bob Jeffries, *Soul Food Cookbook*, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969) p. ix.

9. Benjamin A. Botkins, *Lay My Burden Down*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945) p. 68.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

11. W.O. Atwater and Charles D. Woods, *Dietary Studies: Food of the Negro in Alabama 1895-1896*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897) p. 10.

12. F.W. Grant and D. Groom, "A Dietary Suudy Among A Group of Southern Negroes," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* September, 1959:910-918.

13. Clementine Paddleford, "What's Cooking in Harlem," *Negro Digest*, November, 1943.

MUSIC

Leslie Hill

The purpose of this paper is to discuss Afro-American music with a view toward its relationship to Child Welfare programs. Afro-American music brings with it a very extensive body of materials for consideration, there are innumerable studies, critique and analyses of Afro-American music as a whole not to mention the works written about particular musical forms. Therefore, it will be necessary to discuss only those elements which illuminate the character of Afro-American music; a general historical overview of the development of this music, and briefly its function within the community of black Americans. The discussion will begin with an explanation of the characteristics or techniques which distinguish Afro-American music. This will then clarify and aid our understanding of historical development of various musical forms in the black community. The perspective of the author is that Black music is distinct as a sub-cultural form, as it is, a culturally expressive behavioral mode for black people. Though there will be no inductive analysis to prove this thesis, the deductive logic involved in my discussion of those characteristics which differentiate Black music shall indeed serve the same purpose. In addition, I shall discuss what Black music, differentiated, means in the environment of Black children particularly as that environment involves Child Welfare programs.

For our purposes, a brief and general view of the development of Black music will be necessary. We are primarily concerned with a description of the historical continuity for the characteristics of Afro-American music we will identify as salient.

Finally, a word about the method of research. The subject is excessively broad and the materials discussing Afro-American music are no less extensive. Therefore, it has been necessary to limit the research. Essentially, this paper has been developed from a review of literature and has been tempered by the conceptual perspective of the overall Stylization research. It would have been impossible to make a complete review of the literature, thus, those works which illuminated the more general topics in this paper were used. Let us move now to consider Afro-American music.

To consider the origins of Afro-American musical characteristics it must be understood that Black music is the product of a synthesis of two alien and differentiated cultures. When Africans were brought to the United States to serve as slaves to the European-American society, blatant dehumanizing attempts were made to destroy the slaves' retention of African culture. Subsequently, overt elements of African culture were forced underground. Nevertheless, subtle elements of African culture not only survived but, as we shall see, were retained in spite of adversities. During the period when adversities were most blatant, black musical behavior was forced into an almost adapted European form as sanctioned by the slavemasters. Yet this form was adapted, and reinterpreted, by the particular experience of the slave community, and was not merely a re-statement of European music.[1] Part of the slave experience included the techniques of musical performance/participation which had been brought from the culture of our origins. Black music in early American history came to be a musical form fused from elements of European and African musical heritages.[2] Given this synthesis, it is necessary to consider the adapted African characteristics which differentiate Black music from its Euro-American counterpart.

The most obvious African retention in Afro-American music is the predominance of percussion in music, particularly the use of polyrhythms. Rhythm may be defined as the regular occurrence of beats in a given space or time; thus, the playing of polyrhythms is the performance of two or more rhythms simultaneously. Numerous authors have spoken of the predominance of polyrhythms in African music. Drums were used primarily to produce rhythms but it has been pointed out that melodic instruments as well were used for percussion.[3] The African emphasis on rhythmic rather than melodic musical qualities is a characteristic which survived the American experience and serves to distinguish Afro-American music. During slavery, our foreparents, not permitted to use drums, were known to fashion percussive instruments from any available materials in order to reproduce the percussive sound of instruments from their homeland. Though some early Afro-American musical forms--primarily non-accompanied music--did not directly employ polyrhythms, even this music retained its rhythmic preponderance. For example, it is known that work songs were used by slaves not merely as a musical accompaniment to the drudgery of their chores, but were especially helpful to slaves engaged in work requiring coordination of movement by each worker. The rhythm of the work song set a pace for each worker allowing the slaves to coordinate their movements and thereby facilitate the process. Moreover, one finds that with the emergence of accompanied music there was the culturally logical resurfacing of polyrhythmetic forms. And in reviewing the development of various other musical forms employed by blacks it becomes clear that the predominance of rhythms and the use of polyrhythms has been characteristic of each form--particularly since the development of the jazz form.

A second characteristic of Black music which demonstrates its African origins is the use of antiphonal song patterning or call and response. Richard Waterman notes that the call and response pattern is a feature prevalent in African music.[5] Work songs, spirituals and blues are all Afro-American musical forms in which the antiphonal pattern differentiates these forms from those influenced by European origins. The call and response has not only been between leader and chorus or between "performer" and "audience"; but call and response is a style often employed in the lyrics, melody and instrumentation of Black music. In the classic blues structure (A-A-B) one finds a call and response pattern though blues is the first black musical form performed by an individual. In the structure of jazz, one can also distinguish the antiphonal pattern among the various instruments and in the melody of the music itself.[6] No less true of the popular music one hears in the black community today, often call and response is a characteristic in vocalization and lyrics as well as in instrumentation.

A third characteristic or technique of Afro-American music which has its origin in African music is the rough voice timbre. This has been described as an "unusual, burred, 'dirty' tone in both vocal and instrumental music."[7] Rough voice timbre, along with falsetto and the shout are noted characteristics of the different forms of Black music having their origins in African music.[8] These techniques were widely used in the work songs of the slaves, in spirituals and in the blues. With the emergence of instrumental accompaniment and instrumental music these qualities have been reproduced with instruments. In fact, instruments have been widely used by black musicians, not for tonal precision as in European music, but to reproduce vocal sounds.[9] It is not uncommon to hear in jazz instrumentation the "scream" or shout of a tenor saxophone. Furthermore, these techniques persist in today's popular Black music. One need only listen to recordings of James Brown or the Jackson Five to hear all of these techniques.

In Afro-American music, the circular approach to notes is another dominant feature. Ernest Borneman described the technique and its origin in writing that:

> While the whole European tradition strives for regularity--of pitch, of time, of timbre and of vibrato--the African tradition strives precisely for the negation of these elements. In language, the African tradition aims at circumlocution rather than at exact definition. The direct statement is considered crude and unimaginative; the veiling of all contents in ever-changing paraphrases is considered the criterion of intelligence and personalfty. In music, the same tendency towards obliquity and ellipsis is noticeable: no note is attacked straight; the voice or instrument always approaches it from above or below, plays around the implied pitch without ever remaining on it for any length of time, and departs from it without ever having committed itself to a single meaning. The timbre is veiled and paraphrased by constantly changing vibrato, tremolo and overtone effects. The timing and accentuation, finally, are not stated, but implied or suggested. The musician challenges himself to find and hold his orientation while denying or withholding all signposts.[10]

The technique--circular approach to musical notes-- continues to be widely used in the different forms of Black music--in vocalization as well as in instrumentation. For example, Sarah Vaughn's singing style is replete with examples of this circular technique approach; this is true, as well of Aretha Franklin's style of gospel singing. Moreover, if one were to listen to a recording of black musician Charlie Panker the difference in the stylistic approach of each would become immediately apparent. I might also make the point here that although white and black musicians may play the same musical form, there are distinct techniques which characterize the performance of each musician, techniques which are indicative of the cultural influence on the performance and style of the black musician and of the white musician.

Finally we might consider another characteristic of Black music. Improvisation has been used in virtually all of Black music. Improvisation is used not only with respect to melody and rhythm but in lyrics as well. LeRoi Jones has written;

> ". . . improvisation, another major facet of African music, is certainly one of the strongest survivals in American Negro music. The very character of the first work songs suggests that they were largely improvised. And, of course, the very structure of jazz is the melodic statement with an arbitrary number of improvised answers or comments on the initial theme."[11]

In the work songs of the slaves, improvisation was combined with the call and response pattern resulting in songs in which a leader sang a theme and a chorus answered him. Sometimes these songs would continue until the chorus ran out of improvised verses.[12] John W. Work describes improvisation in lyrics in his discussion of spirituals where he writes that black people "reassemble(d) speech, words or phrases into idioms, adding melodic or rhythmic motives which had already been developed and widely used by the slaves."[13] Furthermore, when one considers black performances of music, composed consistent with white musical style, improvisation in technique and in interpretation are immediately evident. For example, Aretha Franklin's rendition of Eleanor Rigby as compared to that of the "Beatles" typifies the use of the improvisation technique, and further illuminates the distinctiveness of black musical interpretation.

This particular point leads us to consider a very crucial aspect of Black music. "It has been said by a number of students of Afro-American music[14] that it is neither the nature nor the material of the music, but the manner in which it is performed by blacks that immediately makes that music their distinctive cultural statement. Arguments among students and critics of Afro-American music as to the origin of the music itself have repeatedly occurred. The question raised whether the material of Afro-American performers is in fact European--is irrelevant. What is important is that the material, regardless of origin was adapted and reinterpreted by blacks who infused in the music techniques, characteristics and perspectives which emanated from their African and Afro-American traditions. Bruno Nettl in his work, AN INTRODUCTION TO FOLK MUSIC IN THE UNITED STATES has written: "American Negro folk music tends to consist of the superimposition of some performance traits originating in Africa upon music which is originally European in style."[15] The interpretation and/or reinterpretation of music by black people has resulted in a, "Negro music (that) is essentially an expression of an attitude, or a collection of attitudes, about the world."[16] In other words Afro-American music is a cultural statement about the world, a statement imbued with and informed by the experience of black people in the United States.

The techniques discussed above are part of an Afro-American tradition having its origins in the music of Africa. These techniques are incorporated in all black musical forms developed to date and combine to make our distinct contribution to the field. Black music is distinct--technically in its performance, and in its interpretation.

Black children live in an atmosphere whose musical behavior is most often distinct from their non-black counterparts. The distinct musical style of Afro-Americans today evolves from a history in which the music of our communities differed from others in the United States. In a review of Afro-American music history, it is necessary to clarify the function of music to the cultural perspective of black people in order to understand its continual relationship to the community.

There is in our African heritage an ontological basis for understanding the relationship of music to the Afro-American community. Among African peoples, God, the spirits, man, animals and plants, and inanimate objects and phenomena all existed in a single relationship;[17] if any of these were destroyed, the whole system would be destroyed. In the same way, all of man's functions were interrelated. Thus, no function was set aside as special, each occurred as a part of living. Therefore, music was an activity integrated into the everyday process of existence. Music was incorporated into everyday activities with everyone participating in the music--audience and performer responded to each other and became one in music behavior. Not all of this was lost in the Middle Passage. Certainly, our forefathers were not permitted to use music as they had in their homeland. But as the Afro-American musical tradition evolved, we find that music had a similar function. In work, in religious activity, as in many activities, slaves accompanied themselves with music. Music was a vehicle for expression as it is today. The community of slaves participated in the music. As we shall see, it was not until the emergence of blues that an individually "performed" musical form emanated from the black community. Even with the emergence of "performed" black musical forms there remains collectivity in music as musicians "play" and audiences respond.[18] Thus the essential collectivity in music has not been lost in our musical behavior today. Let us examine the various black musical forms for a more specific understanding of music's function in our community.

When Africans were enslaved and brought to the United States, work songs comprised one of the first musical forms to emerge from our slave communities. But the work-songs of Africa were altered in slavery as they had to be. Blacks no longer sang of the gods, but of the harshness of their lives. There was some transfer of words in slave work-songs, but more importantly there was a transfer of syntactical and rhythmical structure.[19] Work songs developed into a call and response pattern and were -- because of their pronounced rhythmic qualities -- especially suited to group labor. Here was collectivity in the music.[20]

Africa also had a tradition of religious music. But African religious expression among slaves was deliberately suppressed by the white masters. With the infusion of Christianity among slaves, religious music re-emerged for the Africans and their descendants. Though this religious expression was transformed by the new religion, black slaves adapted and reinterpreted both the religion and its music to the conditions of their American experience. A situation arose in which much of the material for religious music had a European origin, yet the performance of such bespoke the infusion of a distinctively Black musical style. Where slaves adopted European gospel hymns as the basis for a spiritual, they adapted the hymns to their own musical style and usually "reassembled" the lyrics to fit the adjusted rhythmic or melodic, not to mention experiencial, structure. Innumerable spirituals were indeed created by the slaves themselves and are evidence of the creativity and distinctive musical style of our people. Furthermore, the spirituals contain all of those techniques which distinguish Afro-American music. There were "call and response chants" with rapid rhythms, "slow" spirituals with sustained melody, and "fast" spirituals with syncopated melodies.[21] It should also be pointed out that the spirituals comprised a Black musical form which was communally performed.

Unfortunately, time and space do not permit an indepth discussion of the lyrics of the spirituals. However, these lyrics tell a great deal about the slaves' interpretations of and attitudes about their condition.[22] In addition, the lyrics belie the function of the spirituals. Interpretations of lyrics tell us that spirituals expressed many things: the sorrow, hopelessness and frustration of slavery; the joy at the escape of a fellow slave; the hope or the disguised plan for a slave rebellion; anger toward the slavemaster and the desperate wish for his destruction or the elimination of that hopeless condition; and on ad infinitum. Miles Fisher makes the point in his analysis of lyrics that: ". . . militancy was no more characteristic of Negroes than pacifism."[23] Spirituals provided a vehicle for slave expression; they afforded a disguised release where open expression was forbidden. Other functions of spirituals describe them as religious expressions, work songs and social songs (where there was no real secular life apart from slavery).[24]

After emancipation, new facets of social life were available to ex-slaves; blacks could gather socially for meetings, entertainment and other group functions of a secular nature. This new secular life gave rise to a new musical development and the blues emerged as an innovative Black musical form. Blues marks a turning point in Black musical history for blues was the first music form in its own right of a non-religious nature; it was the first individually performed music to emanate from the Black community and the first Black musical form to have instrumental accompaniment. LeRoi Jones noted the ancestry of the blues in his description:

> The shout as much as the African call-and-response singing dictated the form blues took. Blues issued directly out of the shout and, of course, the spiritual. The three-line structure of blues was a feature of the shout. The first two lines of the song were repeated, it would seem, while the singer was waiting for the next line to come. Or, as was characteristic of the hollers and shouts, the single line could be repeated again and again, either because the singer especially liked it, or because he could not think of another line.[25]

Blues employed the various techniques of the Afro-American musical tradition: antiphony, predominance of rhythm, improvisation, and the shout. And within the individual styles of blues singers one can detect the use of rough voice timbre, falsetto, shout and the circular approach to notes.[26] Beyond the different techniques used in blues, there are different kinds of blues; primitive, classic and urban blues but it is not necessary to detail these here.

What seems important about the blues is that it was a non-religious form of expression and it was a forum for individual expression. Blues spoke to the difficulties of "freedom" -- finding work for example -- and is especially noted for its expressions about the relationships between man and woman. Finally, blues was the first Afro-American musical form which "developed as a music to be sung for pleasure, as a casual music. . ."[27] I might add that although blues was a form for individual expression it involved the emanating community in its expression and release of frustration. Blues, and the musical forms of "performed" Black music which evolved after blues all involved the "audience" in this function of expression and release. Thus, in Black music, the musician and audience responded to each other -- each participating collectively.

Jazz was the next innovation of Afro-American music developing out of blues. It is extremely difficult to pinpoint a definition of jazz due to the inherent improvisation of this Afro-American music form. Jazz is an instrumental blues facilitated in its development by the Black musicians' mastery of instruments heretofore unavailable. It was not until the first decades of the twentieth century that instruments, aside from the guitar and hand instruments, i.e. brass instruments, became available to Black musicians.[28] In mastering the use of these instruments, our musicians developed jazz, an instrumental "collective improvisation." This new musical form is extremely expressive of the African base of the Afro-American musical tradition. Rhythms and the use of polyrhythms are a predominant feature of jazz as is improvisation. Instruments have been used to reproduce vocal sounds and through this the techniques of rough timbre, falsetto, shout and circular approach become characteristic of the jazz of Black musicians.[29] There have developed so many differing kinds of jazz -- primitive, bebop, ragtime, swing and avant-garde -- that here again it would be beyond the scope of this paper to detail them all. Suffice it to say that jazz, in all of its innovations, carries the African based techniques of the Afro-American musical tradition. Furthermore, jazz provided a forum for expression; jazz's function was that of a "cathartic group ritual."[30]

Without a doubt, this discussion should incorporate "rhythm and blues" (R&B). Unfortunately, sufficient information about R&B is severely lacking, though an attempt will be made to give a sense of this musical form. Rhythm and blues borrows from all the Afro-American musical forms.

> And Rhythm and Blues music is "new" as well. It is contemporary and has changed, as jazz has remained the changing same. Fresh Life. R&B has gone through evolution, as its singers have, gotten "modern," taken things from jazz, as jazz has taken things from R&B. New R&B takes things from old blues, gospel, white popular music, instrumentation, harmonies (just as these musics have in turn borrowed) and made these diverse elements its own.[31]

In borrowing from Black musical forms -- particularly the blues and the "gospel tradition" -- R&B brings with it all those techniques of the Afro-American musical tradition. There is an emphasis on rhythm and an extensive use of polyrhythms with call and response patterning widely used. Listen, for example, to James Brown's music; there is antiphony in both the instrumentation and lyrics of many of his songs. In the styles of many R&B singers one can note the presence of rough voice timbre, falsetto, shouts, circular approach to notes and extensive improvisation.

Similarly, R&B is an emotional music -- "issues purely out of emotion."[32] Rhythm and blues uses the blues theme of love, of relationships between man and woman and is about emotion. Even instrumental R&B concerns emotion in, if nothing more, its creation and release of tension -- the cathartic function. Like jazz, blues, and spirituals before it, R&B is yet another Black musical form which contains the element of collectivity. One need only remember the performance of Sly and the Family Stone; indeed, that music did take us "higher."

A further point. As is true of jazz, R&B has repeatedly been adopted and "copied" by non-black musicians. However, with each copy by the larger and more powerful group in American society, Black musicians have responded by infusing R&B with new innovations -- striving for a singular Black music. One need only listen to the Jackson Five music of 1968 compared with that which they perform today, after the "Osmond Brothers" expropriated the 1968 sound. The Jackson Five have made their music more percussive, employing at least two and, often more, rhythms. If Ben Sidran is correct in asserting that each time white musicians have copied Black music there are new innovations by Black musicians,[33] then it may be accurate to state that Black people are striving to create a singular music, to reassert the distinctiveness of the Afro-American musical tradition and to continue to express what is uniquely an Afro-American experience.

Here we have traced the continuity of certain techniques in the Black musical tradition. This brief history has served to clarify the distinctiveness of Afro-American music and the creativity of Black musical behavior. Furthermore, it gives us a basis for understanding the music that is prevalent in the community environment of Black children.

Now that there is some clarification of Afro-American music, its history and its function, the question becomes: what does this mean for black children and their participation in Child Welfare programs?

Black music functions as a vehicle for expression, particularly as an expressive medium for those members of the community from which it evolved and to whom Black music has definite meaning. Black music is a complex medium of communication with culturally meaningful sounds existing "on a level different from other mediums of communication."[34] Thus, Afro-American music has function and meaning for black children. It is also an important element of their environment.

Given this, the exclusion of Black music in child welfare programs would indicate several things. First, if there is an inclusion of music at all; it is predominantly Euro-American. Thus the exclusion of music with which the black child has familiarity means a denial, on the part of the larger society, of a segment of the child's life. A question then becomes, what is the musical form of expression available to children of Afro-American background? Even more important is the question of what values and attitudes do Child Welfare programs communicate to the black child about his/her musical and cultural tradition, about his own community, and about himself when one of the very central modes of expression -- Black music -- is not a part of his programmed existence. Through such practice does "the agency implicitly or explicitly behave in such a way as to indicate that James Brown is inferior to Bach?"[35] or to indicate that the musical tradition of the black community or black people is inferior to that of the larger, non-black society?

Aside from raising these questions, we can say that the exclusion of Black music eliminates a crucial segment of musical tradition and history in the United States. Black music is the only original musical creation of Americans. Not to incorporate it into American Child Welfare institutions while using other non-black musical forms limits the children's learning process and establishes unnecessary barriers to the children's later appreciation of all elements of American musical tradition.

But what would the inclusion of Black music mean in terms of the black child's values about his/her ethnic musical tradition, sense of Black history, and the contribution and achievements of his/her own people? It might enhance these; it might help the child perceive and understand the worth of this exemplary Black contribution, of the community and of him/herself. The inclusion of Black music might not only give the child a vehicle for expression and communication, but it may also give black children an opportunity to share with others their knowledge giving them a chance to do something to enhance their own self-worth.

And finally, Ojeda Penn has raised a serious question. "How best do we use Afro-American music in our policies that purport to speak to the needs of black children? How can this great body of music be used to teach and educate black children about themselves?"[36]

What becomes clear is that it is necessary to know how and what music is incorporated in child welfare programs, and how do we insure that a program is fashioned to meet the needs of black children. Black people must have input at this level for who better understands the needs of black children and understands the Afro-American musical tradition.

These questions are urgent for in this society we can no longer afford inadequate and even dangerous communication of lopsided values; nor can we afford to deny the existence of black traditions or ignore the needs of black children.

FOOTNOTES

1. LeRoi Jones, Blues People: Negro Music in White America, (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1963), pp. 11-31; Alan P. Merriam, "Music in American Culture," American Anthropologist. LVII (Dec., 1955), p. 1174; Richard A. Waterman, "African Influences on the Music of the Americas," Acculturation in the Americas, ed. by Sol Tax (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1967), p. 209.

2. The term 'African music' is intended to indicate the general origin of a musical style. The author recognizes that there are numerous variations of style among different African tribal groupings as well as among various geographical and/or religious groupings. However, most of the techniques described here are used by many African groups with some variation among them.

3. Waterman, p. 212.

4. John Storm Roberts, Black Music of Two Worlds, (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 49.

5. Waterman, "African Influence," p. 214. See also John W. Work, American Negro Songs and Spirituals: A Comprehensive Collection of 230 Folk Songs, Religious and Secular, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1940), p. 4.

6. Jones, Blues People, p. 26.

7. Roberts, p. 9.

8. Ibid.

[illegible] conducted at Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare Project, March and April, 1974.

10. Ernest Borneman, "The Roots of Jazz," Jazz, ed. by Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy, (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 17.

11. Jones, Blues People, p. 27.

12. John W. Work, American Negro Songs and Spirituals: A Comprehensive Collection of 230 Folk Songs, Religious and Secular, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1940), p. 38-39.

13. Ibid., p. 8.

14. Penn, Interview; See also Jones, Blues People.

15. Bruno Nettl, An Introduction to Folk Music in the United States, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962), p. 55.

16. Jones, *Black Music*, (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1968), p. 13.

17. John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophies*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1970), p. 20.

18. Ojeda L. Penn, "The Techniques of Afro-American Music and Their Implications for Cultural Behavior," (paper presented at the National Council of Social Work Education Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, March 12, 1974), p. 12.

19. Jones, *Blues People*, p. 21.

20. Roberts, p. 67.

21. Work, p. 19.

22. See Miles Mark Fisher, *Negro Slave Songs in the United States*, (New York: Citadel Press, 1953).

23. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

24. Work, *Songs and Spirituals*, p. 19.

25. Jones, *Blues People*, p. 62.

26. Charles Keil, *Urban Blues*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 55.

27. Jones, *Blues People*, p. 67.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 71 and 73. See also Ben Sidran, *Black Talk*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 37.

29. Sidran, *Black Talk*, p. 101.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

31. Jones, *Black Music*, p. 203.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

33. Sidran, p. 77.

34. Ojeda L. Penn, "The Techniques of Afro-American Music and Their Implications for Cultural Behavior," (paper presented at the National Council of Social Work Education Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, March 12, 1974), p. 12.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Borneman, Ernest. "The Roots of Jazz," Jazz. Ed. by Nat Hentoff and Albert J. McCarthy (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1959).

Conley, Dorothy L. "Origin of the Negro Spirituals," Negro History Bulletin, (May, 1962, XXV No. 8, 179-180).

Fisher, Miles Mark. Negro Slave Songs in the United States, (New York: Citadel Press, 1953).

Johnson, James Weldon. "O Black and Unknown Bards," in Bernard Katz, Social Implications of Early Negro Music in the U.S., (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

Jones, LeRoi. Blues People: Negro Music in White America, (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1963).

Keil, Charles. Urban Blues, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

Lovell, John Jr. "Social Implications of the Negro Spiritual," in Bernard Katz, Social Implications of Early Negro Music in the U.S., (New York: Arno Press, 1969).

Mbiti, John S. African Religions and Philosophies, (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1970).

McKinney, Harold. "Negro Music: A Definitive American Expression," Negro History Bulletin, (XXVII No. 5, Feb., 1964).

Merriam, Alan P. "Music in American Culture," American Anthropologist, (LVII, Dec., 1955).

Nettl, Bruno. An Introduction to Folk Music in the United States, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962).

Penn, Ojeda L. "The Techniques of Afro-American Music and Their Implications for Cultural Behavior," (paper presented at the National Council of Social Work Education Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, March 12, 1974).

Penn, Ojeda L. Interview Discussions conducted at Black Stylization and Implications for Child Welfare Project, March and April, 1974.

Roberts, John Storm. Black Music of Two Worlds, (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1962).

Sidran, Ben. Black Talk, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

Southern, Eileen. The Music of Black Americans: A History, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1971).

Walton, Ortiz M. Music: Black, White and Blue, (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1972).

Waterman, Richard A. "African Influences on the Music of the Américas," Acculturation in the Americas. Ed. by Sol Tax, (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1967).

Work, John W. American Negro Songs and Spirituals: A Comprehensive Collection of 230 Folk Songs, Religious and Secular. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1940).

5/74

P

THE DANCE
BY: Penny Henderson

Movement is a vital part of the Black community. Contrary to stereotypes that contend that Black people are lazy and shiftless, Black people move. Whether it is a Black Baptist preacher in the pulpit on Sunday morning, the brother on the corner telling the "boys" about the night before or young folks skating at the local rink, we move. Our bodies help us tell our stories. They express our joy, pain, anger, and love. We can vent our feelings through our bodies. One method of utilizing body language in the Black community is dance. We have a history of dancing that began long before our ancestors were enslaved and forced to come to America. Dance has survived as we have survived and is still an important part of our culture and physical release relating to physiological and psychological needs.[1]

In the Mother Country, dance was incorporated into the lifestyle of the African people. It pervaded all African life in one form or another.[2] Dance was used in celebrations, religious ceremonies, and for entertainment. Africans used dance to express feelings they could not express openly because of various social controls. "When an African dons a mask and performs certain dances or sings about people or events he is no longer acting as a person but as a being or spirit. In this role he often has freedom for comments on social relations and for actions that if made unmasked would produce social frictions or hostilities. By their very differences the actions of unmasked dancers serve to make clearer the desired qualities of everyday behavior."[3]

This does not mean however, that dancing for pleasure did not serve any function in the African community. Dance was also used as a means of exhibiting skill, especially by the young people in order to impress members of the opposite sex. Through dance, an African brother was able to communicate his admiration for a sister and vice versa. Social dances played a very important part in young African lives in the enhancement of their romances.

For older Africans the dance itself was important. Pleasure came from dancing with those who had common bonds of experience and association. These bonds are reinforced by feelings of kinship and other socializing forces.[4]

Everyone participated in an African dance, except those who were unable to, like the old, or if the dances were special ones designed for special people like the chief or certain gods in a religious ceremony. Those who were not in the actual dance clapped their hands or tapped their feet. There were also shouts of encouragement to the dancers. Most people were actively involved in some form or another. This illustrates one of the basic characteristics of the African tradition in music and dance, its emphasis on communal activity.[5]

The character of the dancing observed depended upon the context of the dance, the people involved and the sex of the dancers.[6] Women and men danced in separate lines moving back and forth toward each other.[7] Often the women moved their feet in a shuffle step, their bodies were in motion to the beat. The men used large body movements including leaping and jumping. In the special dances there was a prescribed way of dancing usually done in a circle with each dance member having a specific position. There were usually musicians in the center with the soloist or leader of the dance. The rest of the dancers would encircle them. The ecstatic seizure was an essential element of ceremonial dancing, both religious and secular. At the height of a dance participants often fell to the ground in an unconscious state after having worked themselves up into very rapid, intricate movements.[8]

Religion was part of the daily lives of Africans. Many rituals were included in religious practices. These rituals were primarily carried out through songs and dances.[9] The religious dances in Africa were usually restricted by certain movements and could only be done by certain paople. Masks were worn by the dancers to depict the god or ancestor the dance is centered around. They were also supposed to preserve the anonymity of the dancer. During these dances the dancer's body was possessed by the god and the god spoke through the dancer. The possessed person no longer had his own personality, but he became the god who had possessed him. Dances were done for the purpose of being possessed. Possession was the ultimate religious experience.[10]

Secular dances were less strict and allowed more room for improvisation. African dances could not be appreciated unless the viewer was able to detect the various rhythms that the dancers movements were responding to. Various parts of the body accompany one of the rhythms in the orchestra. In other words, the polyrhythms in the orchestra are reproduced by the dancer's body. The head may move in one rhythm, the shoulders another, the arms in another, the trunk in a fourth, and the feet in still another. Both precision and freedom of expression were important.[11]

During the slave trade dancing took on a different function. Slave traders would invite Africans aboard their ships and ask them to dance. While the Africans were dancing the ship would set sail and the Africans would be enslaved. In spite of their chains the enslaved Africans were forced to dance everyday during the trip to America so that could remain in good physical shape and the traders could receive a higher price for them. If the Africans refused to dance they were whipped until they relented and danced. Dance for our people became a means of survival.

Dancing during the slave trade could have been considered a curse for Black people; however, it was through dance that they were able to keep a link with the past.[12] Dance allowed the slaves to momentarily escape from their present condition and become a part of what was once a more pleasant way of life.

When the Africans arrived in the states and were sent to various plantations throughout the country they were mixed with other Africans from different tribes, who spoke different languages. Though they represented various parts of West Africa they shared enough traditions of music and dancing in common to enable them to participate in collective dances with ease.[13]

During the colonial period northern slaves were able to retain some of the African traditions. Here "slavery was relatively benign . . . indulgent owners allowed their slaves time off for frolics . . . town authorities were not afraid to let huge masses of slaves assemble . . . black leaders were respected as much by the local white townspeople as by their own people. . .[14] There were slave gatherings and festivals in which dancing was one of the main activities. At these celebrations, which included Pinkster Day (Pentecost Sunday) and 'Lection Day, the slaves danced as they had in Africa, working themselves up to a point of complete exhaustion. After the celebrations were over everyone returned to work on the plantations and the frenzy and excitement were gone until the next celebration. Sometime between 1811 and 1813 Pinkster Day celebrations were prohibited because of its licentious nature.[15]

In the South where there were more plantations, more slaves, and harsher conditions there were no special days for celebrations. Slaves had been prohibited from assembling for fear they would stage an insurrection. They were not allowed to use drums or any loud instruments which could be used to call people together or send messages.[16] These restrictions were largely the result of the Stone rebellion in 1739. Black rebels in South Carolina had used drums to signal other Blacks to join them. They marched to the drum beat killing any whites that tried to stop them.

Southern slaves were given some free time maybe on Saturday night or Sunday, but there were very few occasions during which they were able to get together and dance. When there was a dance it was held on the plantations and the slaves were given passes to visit dances given at other plantations. The special occasions included Christmas dances, corn shucking and quilting dances. Often the slaves played the music for the white folks' dances or they danced to provide entertainment for the white folks. Christmas and corn shucking dances occurred on most plantations. Quilting varied in importance but was usually accompanied by dancing.[17] Some slaves were willing to take the risk of attending dances without passes, taking the chance of being caught by white patrollers. This illustrates the importance these few dances held for the slaves. They were again provided an opportunity to escape temporarily from the mental bonds of slavery.

Information on dance during the 1840's and 1850's in the South is extremely limited. Most descriptions of dancing during this period contain little or no African tradition. Most of the dances described had been influenced by whites and consisted of Set Dances, Jigs, and Figure (Square) Dances.[18] The restrictions placed on the Southern slaves' freedom also restricted their dance. Dancing was done in secret, however, and perhaps there were African dances done.[19] Most known dancing was done in the presence of whites. This limited the freedom of self expression in dance.

There were dances done on the plantations that contained African influence. These included the patting juba, which consisted of stamping, clapping, and slapping of arms, chest, and thighs. It was done with or without musical accompaniment. The Water Dance was another; water was carried on the head during the dance. Whoever could take the most steps with the water on his head was the winner.[20]

In New Orleans much of the African tradition survived. Here the major religious influence was Roman Catholic.[21] The Catholics were less strict than the Protestants and more concerned with salvation of the soul rather than making the heathens more civilized; therefore, the slaves were able to perform traditional dances because they weren't forced to give them up for Christianity. In addition, in 1804 Haiti declared her independence, and many of the whites that were forced to leave the island immigrated to New Orleans taking their slaves with them. The slaves brought their West Indian dances, which were heavily influenced by African tradition, for Catholicism was the major religion in Haiti also.[22]

In New Orleans Blacks were allowed to dance on Sundays after the close of religious services.[23] Whites feared the voodoo meetings and rituals taking place during this time among the slaves, so they designated Congo Square as the dancing site, where slaves could not only dance, but also be kept under surveillance. Six West African tribes were represented at these dances. The dancers would begin together, each tribe assembled in circular groups in different parts of the square.[24] Their dances were derivitives of African dances. Many of the dance descriptions written during this time were based on previous writings or the writer's imagination.[25] From some of the descriptions, however, I was able to distinguish the total involvement of the dancers in their dance, as the African dancers had been in the Mother Country.

> ...the dances began slowly but gradually quickened, building up into wild frenzied movements... As much as fatigue, it was the combination of the incessant chanting and the exciting music that sent the dancers into a state of ecstasy and eventually caused them 'to fall fainting to the ground.'[26]

Dancing at Congo Square was terminated by city officials in 1843. A large part of our heritage was lost but fortunately not completely.

Much of the African tradition was incorporated into the Black Church. Though many churches forbade dancing, others used dance forms as a means of expressing the intense emotional involvement the members experienced during church services. Voices and hand clapping replaced the drums. The circle, shuffling, and ecstatic religious possession were retained (Ring Shout). What is important is that the church members were physically moved by their religion and not merely spiritually involved.[27]

During the 1820's a new form of entertainment emerged known as Ethiopian minstrelsy, which was the attempt by whites to imitate Black songs and dances. To obtain materials for their shows white minstrels visited plantations and then attempted to recreate what they saw and heard.[28] Songs and dances taken by whites from Blacks were altered to make them comical. Two stereotypes resulted from these shows, the plantation slave with ragged clothes and thick dialect, Jim Crow, and the dandy, dressed in the latest fashion, Zip Coon.[29] When Blacks entered minstrelsy in the 1860's they adopted the previously established stereotypes in order to be successful performers. Whites were disappointed to see Black performers that were brown with normal sized lips; therefore, Black performers blackened their faces and accented their lips with red or white paint to make them larger, to please the audience. Black performers imitated the imitations of their songs and dances by white performers. All was not lost, Black minstrel performers also brought to the stage much genuine humor, original dancing, and the poignant song of their people.[30]

While the North had its minstrel shows, Southern Blacks were entertaining themselves. During the late 1800's the Jook House came into existance and with it many popular dances. Jook is dzuzu in the Gullah dialect of the Bambora tribe in West Africa, meaning wicked.[31] Places for drinking, gambling, and dancing were not in good Christian taste. Some of the dances that came out of the era were the Big Apple, the Black Bottom, and Ballin' the Jack. These dances involved the use of the entire body. Descriptions of the dances were similar to those of early African and slave dances.[32]

Dance has played a significant role throughout the history of Black Americans. Over the years dances have changed, some feel it is a revolution, but dance is always present in the Black community. Dance is still used as a means of expressing attitudes and feelings. Forms of dance, the shuffle and body movements, are still found in some churches. And of course dance is still used for entertainment, public and private. Professional Black dancers have broadened their scope of dancing. Some continue to dance traditional dances based on African origin, others have gone into ballet and other dance forms that do not reflect the Black experience, fields that were closed to Blacks before. It is not the style of dance that makes Black dancers unique, it is the total attitude involved in a Black dancer's dancing, whether as an entertainer or dancing for one's own pleasure. Many dances done by Blacks today contain body movements similar to those done in our past; however, the moves are not as important as the reason we have to move. Dance for Black people is an important form of expression that has served and can continue to serve as a means of strengthening our people and strengthening ourselves. One continuing factor that cannot be ignored is we have continued to dance. Not for the stereotyped reasons associated with frivolity and a lackadaisical attitude but for self expression of our being.

Black children usually start to dance early. They do what "the big kids do." We began young, to strive for uniqueness. The name and style of the dance being done is the same, but it contains personal variations. Skill is exhibited when a dancer is able to do the basic steps, plus improvise and still remain on the same beat. This growth in dance is summed up beautifully in Step It Down:

> Out of the comforting boundaries of the ring the grown child dances joyfully into the sometimes rigid, sometimes formless patterns of adult life. He uses the same body articulations, the same 'steps,' but the dramatic content is more abstract, the patterns more varied, the range of personal choice is wider. As an adult, he does not 'play' any longer; he dances. He has gone through a long apprenticeship; contrary to what the world around him thinks, he is not a 'natural' but a thoroughly trained dancer.[33]

FOOTNOTES

[1] Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg, CULTURE AND SOCIETIES OF AFRICA (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 83.

[2] Lynne Fouley Emery, BLACK DANCE (California: National Press Books, 1972), p.2.

[3] Ottenbergs, CULTURE AND SOCIETIES, p. 84.

[4] E.E. Evans, "The Dance," AFRICA Vol. 1, ed. by Diedrich Westermonn (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 45.

[5] Eileen Southern, THE MUSIC OF BLACK AMERICANS (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1971), p. 12.

[6] IBID., p. 23.

[7] John W. Blassingame, THE SLAVE COMMUNITY (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 20.

[8] Southern, BLACK AMERICANS, p. 23

[9] Emery, BLACK DANCE, p. 49

[10] IBID., p.49-51.

[11] Paul Bohannon and Philip Curtin, AFRICA AND AFRICANS (New York: The Natural History Press, 1971), p. 82.

[12] Emery, BLACK DANCE, p. 103.

[13] Southern, BLACK AMERICANS, p. 49

[14] *IBID.*, p. 54.

[15] Emery, *BLACK DANCE*, p. 143.

[16] Blassingame, *SLAVE COMMUNITY*, p. 29.

[17] Emery, *BLACK DANCE*, p. 115.

[18] *IBID.*, p. 108.

[19] Blassingame, *SLAVE COMMUNITY*, p. 69.

[20] Emery, *BLACK DANCE*, p. 98.

[21] *IBID.*, p. 148.

[22] *IBID.*, p. 15.

[23] Southern, *BLACK AMERICANS*, p. 135.

[24] *IBID.*, p. 135.

[25] Emery, *BLACK DANCE*, p. 166.

[26] Southern, *BLACK AMERICANS*, p. 137.

[27] Blassingame, *SLAVE COMMUNITY*, p. 64.

[28] Southern, *BLACK AMERICANS*, p. 102.

[29] *IBID.*, p. 100.

[30] *IBID.*, p. 269.

[31] Emery, BLACK DANCE, p. 220.

[32] IBID., p. 221.

[33] Bessie Jones and Bess Lomax Hawes, STEP IT DOWN (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), p. 122.

BLACK STYLIZATION AND IMPLICATION FOR CHILD WELFARE

Study No. II
Child No. _______
Child's Age _____
Interviewer No. _____
Parent's Sex _____
School _____________

Office of Child Development
Grant #CB-422

Date ___________
Time In ___________
Time Out ___________

Hello Mr/Ms _______________, my name is _________ and I'm from the Atlanta University School of Social Work's Research Center. I'm here to talk with __________________ (child's name) but our work will need your help also.

In our research, we are studying cultural characteristics of Black children in the areas of music, language, dance, food, etc. We're doing this so that aspects of Black lifestyles may be incorporated into present and future child welfare policies. Since we need information from both children and parents, I would like you to fill in this questionnaire for me while I talk to __________________ (HAND PARENT SURVEY). But first, would you look through it to see if you have any questions before I speak with him/her? (GO OVER QUESTIONS WITH PARENT). If you have more questions, I'll be glad to answer them before I leave.

The letter our office mailed you also included a Permission Slip. We'll need your signature on that. (Obtain Signed Permission Slip from Parent, in ink). Of course, you know that all the information you give us is strictly confidential. Thank you. I brought my tape recorder to record my conversation with _____________, that way I won't miss any of her/his thoughts.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. MAY I TALK WITH HIM/HER NOW?

Child Interview
Respondent # ________
Interviewer # ______

Hello, my name is ____________ and I would like to talk with you for a while. Before we actually start talking about some of your likes and dislikes, would you look at these pictures and choose three (3) that you like best. (HAND STUDENT PACKET OF PICTURES.)

Picture Nos.

________________________ 50. ____/

________________________ 51. ____/

________________________ 52. ____/

For each picture selected probe for the following three categories.

	#1	#2	#3	
Color	_____	_____	_____	53. ____/
Comfort	_____	_____	_____	54. ____/
Plants	_____	_____	_____	55. ____/

Thanks, that's very helpful. Now I'd like to go on and ask you some questions about food, and clothes and music, and things like that. For this part of our talk, I'd like to turn on the tape recorder so that I don't lose any of your ideas. (TURN ON TAPE).

CHILD FOCUSED INTERVIEW

I. Do you like music?

What kind of music do you like?

What kind of music do you like to dance to?

What is it about this music that makes you want to dance? (Beat, melody)

Are there certain musical instruments that make you want to dance when you hear them?

How do you feel when you're dancing?

Do you have favorite musical groups or singers?

How does the music make you feel?

Do you play a musical instrument?

If yes, which one and how did you start playing that one?

If no, which would you want to play?

CHILD FOCUSED INTERVIEW

Before we talk about food and clothes, I'd like you to think a little about religion.

II.

Do you go to church?

What is church to you?

Is church the same as religion?

Why or why not?

That's very helpful ________.

III.

We're also very interested in food.

What kinds of food do you usually eat at home? (Probe for identification of menu variety)

How do you like your ________ fixed? (Probe for method)
meats and vegetables

What are your favorite foods?

What kinds of foods do you dislike?

CHILD FOCUSED INTERVIEW

IV.

Now we come to the subject of clothes. Earlier you were talking about the colors in the pictures. What colors do you like in clothes?

What colors do you like to wear together?

Tell me a little about your favorite clothes? (Probe)

Do you select your own clothes?

If you do/could pick your own clothes, what do/would you look for?
(Probe for color, fit, etc.)

Our study is very interested in the kinds of things you wear with your clothes. Like your accessories.

What kind of things do you wear with your clothes? (Probe beyond shoes, vest, jackets.)

Boys - What about neck or wrist chains?

Girls - What about jewelry?

What kind of other things do you and the boys/girls at your school put together to make your clothes more interesting?

Do you take care of your own hair?

If you do/could care for your hair, what is/would be your favorite hairdo?

Thank you very much ___________. You've really helped us a lot.

Parent Survey
Respondent # _____
Interviewer # _____

1. From the list below, check three (3) choices of the foods you regularly cook for your family.

veal - (steak or chops) _____
beef steak _____
neck bones _____
lamb - (roast or chops) _____
chicken _____
pork chops _____
ham _____
fish _____
game hen _____

1. _____/

2. From the list below, check three (3) choices of the foods you regularly cook for your family.

spinach _____
pole beans _____
collard greens _____
broccoli _____
green peas _____
okra _____
cauliflower _____
black-eyed peas _____

2. _____/

3-4. Check one (1) choice in each of the following categories of foods you cook regularly for your family.

spinach and bacon salad _____
lettuce and tomato salad _____
potato salad _____

3. _____/

corn bread _____
hot rolls _____
muffins (other than corn meal) _____

4. _____/

5-6-7. From the following list, rate 1st, 2nd, or 3rd, the spices you usually use in your cooking.

red pepper _____
sage _____
thyme _____
accent _____

black pepper _____
garlic _____
onion _____
poultry seasoning _____
tenderizer _____

5. _____/
6. _____/
7. _____/

Parent Survey
Respondent # _____
Interviewer # _____

8. Which of the following methods of cooking do you usually use. Select three (3).

boil _____
roast _____
saute _____
stew _____

bake _____
poach _____
fry _____
simmer _____
broil _____

8. _____/

9. Which way do you cook your chicken most often?

____

9. _____/

10. Which way do you cook your chicken least often?

____

10. _____/

11. Which way do you cook your beef steak most often?

____

11. _____/

12. Which way do you cook your beef steak least often?

____

12. _____/

13. Have your meals changed since prices have changed?
Yes _____ No _____

13. _____/

14. If you answered yes, what foods did you use previously?

_______________ _______________ _______________

_______________ _______________ _______________

14. _____/

15. Do you attend church?
Yes _____ No _____

15. _____/

16. What denomination are you? (Baptist, CME, etc.)

____

16. _____/

17. Please write below the name and address of your church.

____

____

17. ____/

17. ____/

18. Does ____________________ attend church?
Yes ____ No __________

18. ____/

19. Does ____________________ attend your church?
Yes ____ No __________

19. /

If response is yes, do not answer the following two (2) questions.

20. If she/he does not attend your church, what denomination is he/she ________________

20. ____/

21. What is the name and location of her/his church?

____

____

21. ____/

Thank you very much. Our research will need a little background information about you and your family.

22. Are you

married ____
divorced ____
separated ____
single ____
widowed ____
other ____

22. ____/

Please fill in the following questions about you, your child and your husband/wife. (If your spouse is not living in the house but contributes to the household and/or is considered as a part of your family please answer all of the remaining questions, also.)

23. How many people live in your house?

____

23. _____/

24. Check below how they are related to ______________

25. Father/Guardian _____
Mother/Guardian _____
Grand-Relations _____
Great-Grand Relations _____
Cousin(s) _____
Other (Specify) _____

Aunt _____
Uncle _____
Brother(s) _____
Sister(s) _____

24. _____/
25. _____/

26. Who is the head of the household?

____

26. _____/

27. What is your race?

____

27. _____/

28. What is your spouse's race?

____

28. _____/

29. Are you working

full-time _____
part-time _____
not at all _____

29. _____/

30. What is your occupation and/or main source of income?

____

30. _____/

31. Check the group below which best describes your annual income.
Below $3,000 _____
$3,000 to $5,999 _____
$6,000 to $8,999 _____
$9,000 to $11,999 _____
$12,000 & over _____

Parent Survey
Respondent # ______
Interviewer # _____

32. Does your spouse work?

full-time _____
part-time _____
not at all _____

33. What is your spouse's occupation and/or main source of income?

____

Don't Know _____

33. _____/

34. Check the group below which best describes your spouse's annual income.

Below $3,000 _____
$3,000 to $5,999 _____
$6,000 to $8,999 _____
$9,000 to $11,999 _____
$12,000 and over _____

34. _____/

Thank you very much. There are just a few more questions concerning where you and your spouse were born and your schools.

35. Check the group below which best describes your highest level of education.

Grade School _____
High School _____
College _____
Graduate/Professional School _____
Other _____

35. _____/

36. How much of your education was in a predominantly black school?

All _____
Most (more than half) _____
Some (less than half) _____
None _____

36. _____/

Parent Survey
Respondent # ____________
Interviewer # __________

37. Check the group below which best describes your spouse's highest level of education.

Grade School	_____
High School	_____
College	_____
Graduate/Professional School	_____
Other	_____

37. _____/

38. How much of your spouse's education was in a predominantly black school?

All	_____
Most (more than half)	_____
Some (less than half)	_____
None	_____

38. _____/

39. Where was your place of birth?

____
City County State

39. _____/

40. At that time was that

mostly rural (country)	_____
mostly urban (city)	_____
don't know	_____

40. _____/

41. Were you raised in an area that was

mostly rural (country)	_____
mostly urban (city)	_____
don't know	_____

41. _____/

42. Where was your spouse born?

____
City County State

42. _____/

43. At that time was it

mostly rural (country) ____
mostly urban (city) ____
don't know ____

43. ____/

44. Was your spouse raised in an area that was

mostly rural (country) ____
mostly urban (city) ____
don't know ____

44. ____/

45. Where was ____________ born?

City ________________ County ________ State ________

45. ____/

46. At that time was it

mostly rural (country) ____
mostly urban (city) ____
don't know ____

46. ____/

47. Was ____________ raised in an area that was

mostly rural (country) ____
mostly urban (city) ____
don't know ____

47. ____/

48. Which of the following age groups do you fall into?

Under 25 ____
25 to 29 ____
30 to 35 ____
36 to 40 ____
Over 40 ____

48. ____/

49. Which of the following age groups does your spouse fall into?

Under 25 ______
25 to 29 ______
30 to 35 ______
36 to 40 ______
Over 40 ______

49. ______ /

Those are all of the questions we have for parents. We are very grateful for your time and cooperation.

Thank you.

BLACK STYLIZATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILD WELFARE

Church Observations

Name and Denomination
of Church: ____________________

Address: ____________________

____

Date: ____________________ Time: ____________________

Circle the letter which best corresponds with your observations in the church.

Which of the following is most reflective of the sermon content?

A. It is reflective of a divided (heaven vs. hell) life after death based upon one's present religious commitment.

B. It is reflective of a life after death in which the spirit lives on because it is remembered. There is no definite mention of the present religious commitment influencing life after death.

C. There is a combination of the above with neither one outstanding.

D. None of the above.
Specify: ____________________

____

1) _____/

Which of the following is reflective of the religious reference frame?

A. The belief system is compartmentalized and isolated from one's lifestyle.

B. The belief system is personified by the individual's actions and deeds.

C. The belief system is considered a natural incorporation of the individual's total life and living practices.

2) _____/

Which of the following delivery styles best describes the sermon presentation?

A. Ritualized, non-affective, very conservative, controlled voice tones

B. Mildly conservative, semi-controlled voice, minimal variation from the ritual

C. Ritual only mildly maintained, if at all, extensive voice tone fluctuation, entire body involved (unconservatively).

D. None of above.
Specify: ____________________________

3) ____/

The role of the congregation plays an integral part in all services. The degree to which there is involvement and spontaneity speaks to the continuity of our cultural traditions. Consider the congregation's response carefully before responding to the following question.

Which of the following best describes the response of the congregation during the sermon?

A. Very spontaneous

B. Somewhat spontaneous

C. Not at all spontaneous

4) ____/

During prayers?

A. Very spontaneous

B. Somewhat spontaneous

C. Not at all spontaneous

5) ____/

To what degree are children a part of the congregation?

A. Integrated throughout congregation

B. A part of the congregation but in a particular area of the room

C. Barely visible or absent from the room altogether

C. Combination

6) ____/

Which would best describe the tone of prayers in this church?

A. Very personalized as if the God were a person

B. Only occasional references to God as personalized

C. No reference to God as personalized

7) _____ /

Which best describes the involvement of the person leading the prayer?

A. Total involvement including the body

B. Mildly involved with little body activity

C. More like a recitation with no body activity

8) _____ /

Which best describes the congregation's response to the prayer?

A. Verbal response

B. Physical (hand clap, jump, sway)

C. Emotional (laugh, cry, shout)

C. Combination ____________________

E. None of the above ______________

9) _____ /

Please consider carefully, the following definitions before responding to the next section of question.

psalm: any song or hymn composed from the Old Testament book (Bible) of psalms.

hymn: a song in praise or honor of God, sung by congregation

anthem: any song of praise or joy--a religious choral song usually based on words from the Bible(sung by choir)

spiritual: an emotional song whose content focuses on earlier experiences of Black people in this country.

gospel: a contemporary song whose musical techniques and forms are the more outstanding features.

Which of the following are most prominent in the music of the service?

A. psalm

B. hymn

C. anthem

D. spiritual

E. gospel

F. combination (list) ______________________________

____

G. other (describe) ______________________________

____

10) ____/

Which of the following best describes the congregation's response to the music?

A. quiet listening

B. listening with slight involvement (swaying, humming, etc.)

C. very much involved with the music (clapping, overt swaying, foot stomping, etc.)

11) ____/

Which of the following instruments are used during the service?

A. organ

B. piano

C. guitar

D. drums

E. tambourine

F. other (specify)

12) ____/

After or before services, what degree of interaction is prevalent between the minister(s) and the congregation?

A. none

B. briefly and unequally among selected members

C. prolonged and among a variety of members

13)_____/

Briefly describe the physical location of the church.

14)_____/

Briefly describe the mode(s) of dress most prevalent in the congregation.

15)_____/

Briefly comment as to whether there was any political content to the service. Describe the nature of that content.

16)_____/

What was the approximate racial ratio of the congregation?

17) _____/

DO NOT FORGET TO OBTAIN A CHURCH BULLETIN

BLACK STYLIZATION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILD WELFARE PROGRAMS

EVALUATION INSTRUMENT AND CODE

I. Program Identification

Program Name: ______________________________

Location: ______________________________

Rural ______ Urban ______

Service Area: ______________________________

Type of Program ______________________

Administered by: ______________________

Source of Funds: ______________________

II. Identification of Population Served

What is the age range of the children served?
- a) 0-5 years
- b) 6-11 years
- c) 12-18 years

1) ___/

How many boys are served by the program?

2) ___/

How many girls are served by the program?

3) ___/

There is a total of ____ children served by this program:
- a) 5-25
- b) 26-50
- c) 51-75
- d) 76-100
- e) 101 or more

4) ___/

Criteria for inclusion:

____

____

5) ___/

How many of the children are:

	#	%
a) Afro-American	______	______
b) American Indian	______	______
c) American White	______	______
d) Spanish surnamed	______	______
e) other: ____________	______	______

Code: a) 37% to 63% children of one race = 3
b) 64% to 89% black or white = 2
c) 90% to 100% children of one race = 1

6) ___/

III. What food services are provi

III. What food services are provided?
a) 2-3 meals
b) 1 meal or snacks only
c) no food

7) ___/

Which of the following meats are regularly included on the menu?
a) veal-steak or chops (1) ___
b) beef steak (2) ___
c) neck bones (3) ___
d) lamb (1) ___
e) chicken (2) ___
f) pork chops (3) ___
g) ham (3) ___
h) fish (3) ___
i) game hen (1) ___
Code: The average of chosen foods is taken and recorded based upon the following scale.
7a = 2.4 - 3.0
7b = 1.7 - 2.3
7c = 1.0 - 1.6

8) ___/

Which of the following vegetables do you regularly prepare?
a) spinach (1) ___
b) pole beans (2) ___
c) collard greens (3) ___
d) broccoli (1) ___
e) green peas (2) ___
f) okra (3) ___
g) cauliflower (1) ___
h) black-eyed peas (3) ___
Code: Same as for 8

9) ___/

Which of the following spices do you regularly use?
a) sage (1)
b) accent (1)
c) tenderizer (1)
d) thyme (2)
e) poultry seasoning (2)
f) red pepper (3)
g) black pepper (3)
h) garlic (3)
i) onion (3)
j)

Code: Same as for 8

10) ___/

How do you usually prepare your meats?

a)
- a) boil (3) ___
- b) roast (2) ___
- c) saute (1) ___
- d) stew (3) ___
- e) bake (2) ___
- f) poach (1) ___
- g) fry (3) ___
- h) simmer (2) ___
- i) broil (1) ___

Code: Same as for 8

11) ___/

Do you include the foods of other Ameri~~can ethnic~~ groups in the program's menu?

- a) yes = 1
- b) no = 0

12) ___/

How often?

- a) one or more times a month = 4
- b) once every 3 mos. = 3
- c) twice a year = 2
- d) once a year = 1
- e) never = 0

13) ___/

IV. Is music included in the program?

- a) yes = 1
- b) no = 0

14) ___/

Which of the following types of music are usually played?

- a) classical (1)
- b) popular big band (2)
- c) country & western (2)
- d) psychedelic/ hard rock (2)
- e) blues (3)
- f) soul/rock n'roll (3)
- g) jazz (3)
- h) other: ________________

Code: Choices coded within the above groupings with average recorded in case of multiple choices.
15a = 2.4 - 3.0
15b = 1.7 - 2.3
15c = 1.0 - 1.6

15) ___/

Do you explore the music of other American ethnic groups?

- a) yes = 1
- b) no = 0

16) ___/

How often do you explore other ethnic music?
a) one or more times a month = 4
b) once every 3 months = 3
c) twice a year = 2
d) once a year = 1
e) never = 0

17) ___/

V. Is dancing a part of the program?
a) yes = 1
b) no = 0

18) ___/

Do you explore the dances of other American ethnic groups?
a) yes = 1
b) no = 0

19) ___/

How often?
a) one or more times a month = 4
b) once every 3 months = 3
c) twice a year = 2
d) once a year = 1
e) never = 0

20) ___/

VI. Do most of the children here speak in the same language pattern?
a) yes = 1
b) no = 0

21) ___/

Which of the following language patterns do the children speak?
a) Southern White dialect ___
b) Afro-American dialect ___
c) Appalachian ___
d) Standard English ___
e) Bilingual/ specify ______________________
Code: Indicate total number of choices

22) ___/

Which of the patterns do you reinforce?

____

Code: a) no pattern reinforced = 3
b) patterns spoken by children = 2
c) pattern other than that spoken by children = 1

23) ___/

How?
a) Tacit = 2
b) Active = 1

24) ___/

If there is a difference between the answer for # 22 and for #23 ask: Why do you reinforce ____________ as opposed to ______________.
a) conformity to "standard" = 0
b) bilingualism = 1

25) ___/

CLARK COLLEGE ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 28 REC'D

May 23, 1975

Ms. Jualynne Dodson
Research Director
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Ms. Dodson:

Since our brief conference, I have had the opportunity to read your letter of May 16. I simply write to restate my interest in providing support in any way I can to aid your research endeavors. While I know little about empirical, sociological, and culturally-oriented research, I must say I was fascinated by your description of the work you and your colleagues are about in the School of Social Work. I shall look to receive a copy of the material you suggested and you may count on me pursuing one or two avenues that might be useful to you.

Kindest personal regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Vivian W. Henderson

/j

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, S. C. 29208

College of Education

APR 7 REC'D

April 4, 1975

Mrs. Jualynne Dodson, Director
Black Stylization Project
Atlanta University School of Social Work Research Center
873 Park Street, Southwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Dear Sister Dodson:

Just a note to let you know how much we all enjoyed your very informative discussion with the Human Relations Institute on Tuesday, April 1. You addressed concerns that were directly related to us as Black Educators. Your involvement with modifying the curricula of schools to meet the needs of our Black youngsters is of the utmost importance to us, also. We are certainly happy to know that you have selected to delve into an area that has been so totally ignored by research in this country.

We realize that many of the misunderstandings about the culture of Blacks in the United States are directly related to their "mis-education" and we hope that talented people like you will continue to search for answers to the very pressing problems that exist in the field of education of Black students.

Brotherly,

Johnnie

Johnnie McFadden

JMcF/aif

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY
33 GILMER STREET, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

MAY 15 REC'D

May 13, 1975

Ms. Jualynne Dodson
Ms. Susan Ross
Research Center
873 Park Street S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Dear Ms. Dodson and Ross:

We wish to express our appreciation for your presentation at the Conference on Day Care here at Georgia State. The feedback concerning the content of the sessions was universally favorable, the major regret of the participants being that they could not attend more sessions. We also realize that those making presentations would have liked to attend some of the other sessions. Hopefully, there will be other day care conferences at Georgia State at which time format changes can be made in response to what was learned at this first conference.

Thank you again for your participation.

Sincerely,

Roby Egan

Roby Egan, Ph.D.
Dissemination Coordinator
Follow Through Project

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40208

OLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
AN AFRICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

BELKNAP MPUS

APR 7 RECD

April 1, 1975

Dear Conferee:

On behalf of the faculty and staff of Pan-African Studies, allow me to extend our deepest appreciation for your participation in the Conference on the Black Family in the American Economy.

I am sure you will agree it was an extremely worthwhile experience. The principal speakers, as well as the workshop participants, accomplished exceptional feat in focusing upon the subject. However, without you the atmosphere would have been sterile.

The major presentations and the papers presented at the workshops are now being revised. Several possibilities exist for publication. During the upcoming weeks we will be diligently gathering and appraising the materials. I believe a realistic date for such a publication is late fall (1975) or surely early winter (1976). If you would like copies of the workshop presentations before that time please notify me. We will send the papers that are available, with the authors' permission, of course.

Again, thank you for sharing a rewarding experience.

Sincerely,

Thomas L. Green

Thomas L. Green, Director
Pan-African Studies

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY
33 GILMER STREET, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

FEB 1 [illegible]

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jualynne Dotson, Judy Smith,
and Susan Ross
School of Social Work
Black Stylization Proj
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

FROM: Dr. Walter E. Hodges
Department of Early Childhood Education

DATE: February 11, 1975

I want to tell you how much the faculty enjoyed and appreciated your presentation last Friday. We are in continual need of reminding that we must try to put multi-cultural concerns into all of our educational processes. Your articulate demonstration of the concerns of many will help us to do a better job in making multi-cultural experiences and material available to our students--both in our courses and in our personal interactions with them.

Again thanks very much for the time you spent with us. I know that you are very busy people. I wish you much success in completing your present project and hope that you will be funded to continue your very important work.

sh

cc: Jim Young

APPENDIX II

FINAL REPORT DISTRIBUTION LIST

1. Delores Aldridge
Co-Ordinator, Black Studies
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

2. Stella Ballard
Madison, Georgia 30650

3. Jean Barabas
Assistant Director
ERIC Clearinghouse on
Urban Education
Box 40
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York 10027

4. Louis Barnes
Assistant Superintendant
for Research and Development
Atlanta Public Schools
Atlanta, Georgia

5. Helen B. Bell
2857 Eleanor Terrace, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

6. Creigs C. Beverly
950 Veltre Circle, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

7. Andrew Billingsley
President
Morgan State University
Baltimore, Maryland

8. Black Child Development
Institute, Inc.
1028 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036

9. Crystal Britton
1116 Matthews St., SW
Atlanta, Georgia

10. Clanzel Brown
Executive Director
Urban League
Jacksonville, Florida

11. Marsha L. Brown
700 Argonne Ave., NE #D-1
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

12. Ruth H. Collins
Licensing Services Unit
618 Ponce de Leon
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

13. Murray Cooper
1568 Forest Glen
Youngstown, Ohio 44505

14. J.S. Eiseman
University College
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky 40208

15. Flora Gilford
Black Women Organized
for Action
172 Frankfort Street
Daley City, California

16. Anna Grant, Chair
Sociology Department
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

17. Thomas Green
Pan-African Studies
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

18. Edith Grotberg
Acting Director
Research and Evaluation
Division
P.O. Box 200B
Washington, DC 20013

19. Janice Hale
Department of Education
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

20. Muriel Hamilton
Director
National Day Care Study
615 Peachtree Street #918
Atlanta, Georgia

21. Alegra Henderson
110 Sylvia Circle
Athens, Georgia 30601

22. Vivian Henderson
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

23. Robert Hill
National Urban League
733 Fifteenth Street, NW
Suite 1020
Washington, DC

24. Casper Jordan
Librarian
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

25. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Center for Social Change
671 Beckwith Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

26. Lawanda Lawrence
Legislative Aide (to)
Albert Vann, Assemblyman
56th District, Kings County
1357 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, NY 11716

27. Michael Lomax
Minister of Culture
City of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

28. Richard Long, Director
Afro-American Studies
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

29. Harriett McAdoo
School of Social Work
Howard University
Washington, DC

30. Mary Matthews
481 Urban Life Building
Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

31. Betty Murray
P.O. Box 424
Madison, Georgia 30650

32. Renee Morris
Salisbury State College
Salisbury, Maryland 21801

33. National Council of
Black Child Development
Institute
Washington, DC

34. George Nesser, Director
Center for Health Care
Research
Meharry Medical College
Nashville, Tennessee 37208

36. Kenneth Newby
Department of Education
Administration
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

37. Wade Nobles, Director
Westside Community
Mental Health Center
2201 Sutter Street
San Francisco, California

38. Ruby P. Parsons
3017 Tribble Lane, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30311

39. Nina H. Payne
Murphy High School
256 Clifton Street, SE
Atlanta, Georgia 30317

40. Ojeda Penn
2397 Dupree Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

41. Mildred Pratt
Associate Professor
Sociology-Anthropology Dept.
Illinois State University
Normal, Ill.

42. Xandra Robinson
EOA Head Start
75 Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

43. Hubert Ross
Sociology Department
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

44. Marilyn Segal
Nova University
3351 College Avenue
Fort Lauderdale, Fla. 33140

45. Carol Slaughter
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, NJ 08540

46. Elizabeth Smalley
Day Care Specialist
#6, Campbell Building
122 1/2 Eighth Street
Augusta, Georgia 30902

47. Nellie F. Tate
University of Tennessee
School of Social Work
1246 Union Avenue
Memphis, Tenn. 38104

48. George Thomas and
Clara Johnson
Regional Institute of
Social Welfare Research
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

49. Katie Thompson, Director
Atlanta Learning
Services Center
Atlanta, Georgia

50. Emmett Tolbert
477 Windsor Street, SW
Room 101
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

51. Shirley Walker
816 N. Broadway
Orlando, Fla. 32803

52. Charlotte Wheeler
Department of Education
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

53. Melvyn Williams
Developmental Education
Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia

54. Harriett B. Wilson
229 Devonwood Drive, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30328

55. Frances R. Wyatt
257 Silver Springs Cir., SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

56. Aljosie Yarborough
Information Specialist
Institute of the Black
World
87 Chestnut Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

57. Andrew J. Young
United States Congressman
5th District of Georgia
Old Post Office
Atlanta, Georgia

58. Jim Young
Department of Early Childhood
Georgia State University
Atlanta, Georgia

BEST COPY AVAILABLE